These "Feeble" French—*Alexander Werth*

THE *Nation*

December 9, 1950

China Shakes the World

Lake Success - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
Washington - - - *Willard Shelton*
London - - - - - *Howard K. Smith*
Attlee vs. Truman - *Freda Kirchwey*

*

The Registration of Heretics

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

*

Books of 1950—a Selected List

DEC 7 1950

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OUT NEXT WEEK

THE *Nation's* 85th Anniversary Number

PEACE WITH RUSSIA

Can It Be Negotiated?

• 112 PAGES AND SPECIAL COVER •

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Archibald MacLeish, Ambassador Abba Eban, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Sir Benegal N. Rau, James P. Warburg, Owen Lattimore, Grenville Clark, Vera Micheles Dean, Isaac Deutscher, R. H. S. Crossman, Claude Bourdet, Harold R. Isaacs, Hans J. Morgenthau, Gerald Bailey, Jesus Silva Herzog, and others.

Special Comments

President Harry S. Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, Jawaharlal Nehru, Trygve Lie, Senator Frank P. Graham, Secretary Charles T. Brannan, Jacob S. Potofsky, Mark Van Doren, Walter White, Bishop Henry K. Sherrill, Marshall Field, Secretary Oscar Chapman, Clarence E. Pickett, James G. Patton, and others.

ON LEADING NEWSSTANDS 20c

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

GENERAL MACARTHUR, SEEKING TO REBUT outspoken European criticism of his political and military judgment, has issued from Tokyo an unprecedented series of personal statements and interviews. He has vehemently denied that he exceeded his authority in pushing for the Yalu River, a point on which he may be technically correct, although the reason for the assignment of this mission, over British protests, seems to have been his own insistence that any more limited objective would imperil the security of his command. But it is difficult to offer even a technical defense to the charge that the general advance of the United Nations forces launched with so much fanfare, was a monumental military blunder based on appallingly faulty intelligence. On November 24, when announcing the start of his new offensive, MacArthur said: "If successful, this should for all practical purposes end the war . . . and enable the prompt withdrawal of the United Nations military forces." Later the same day he made his "home for Christmas" statement, which certainly suggested supreme confidence even if, as the General has since explained, it was a "jocular" remark not intended to be taken too seriously. It would appear, then, that in ordering an attack along the whole length of his extended and thinly manned front he was not anticipating any very serious resistance.

*

BEFORE THE OFFENSIVE OUR INTELLIGENCE reported that the joint Chinese and North Korean forces east of the Yalu numbered about 100,000 and expressed the view that the thirty Chinese divisions known to be massed in Manchuria would not be moved across the frontier. Obviously MacArthur accepted this estimate of the situation. Yet but four days later he was telling the U. N. that he was being counter-attacked by no less than 200,000 Chinese Communists, a figure which has since grown by geometrical progression. Tokyo headquarters then produced a new explanation of the ill-fated offensive. The real purpose, it seemed, was to probe Chinese intentions and strength—in short, it was a reconnaissance in force. It was further claimed that this move, by "premature exposure" of the Communists' plans, had denied them the opportunity to build up an offensive that would have resulted in "complete destruction of the U. N. command." Thus while the enemy had achieved "some tactical success," he had suffered "a partial strategic failure." At the time of writing, this explanation seems inspired by as much wishful thinking as the declaration of November 24, for it is hard to see how the battered and widely separated fragments of MacArthur's command are to be reunited in any tenable position.

*

MAYOR MICHAEL V. DISALLE OF TOLEDO, who has been appointed Director of Price Stabilization, seems likely to have his hands full. Prices are climbing steadily, and none of the steps so far taken to check their rise promise to be very effective. In mid-October the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index reached a new high of 174.8, up 1.3 points since September 15 and 2.3 points since July 15. But the movement of retail prices is still proceeding at a snail's pace in comparison with that of the bureau's commodity index, which at the end of November stood at 347.2, an advance of 40 points since mid-August and almost 100 points above the level of a year ago. Moreover, the latest critical developments in Korea have since given another fillip to quotations. In due course we must expect these increases in prices of raw materials to be more fully reflected in the stores than they are at present. For there is no evidence that consumers, as a whole, are running short of money. They may grumble at high prices, but they do not resist them to the point of refusal to buy, and they probably will not do so until the Administration and Congress tackle the problem of curtailing effective purchasing power far more boldly than they have done hitheto. This means taxing till it hurts and much more drastic curbs on credit, for the stream of personal income is being steadily swollen by freshets of wage increases and spates of extra dividends at a time when the volume of goods available for civilians is tending to shrink. As production for war increases this situation will grow worse. Indeed, prospects for continued inflation have never been better, which perhaps

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explains why the stock market recovered so rapidly after its tumble on the first news of our reverses in Korea.

*

ORGANIZED LABOR IN MOST OF THE LARGER industries has so far managed to keep wages pretty well in line with higher prices. Last week more than a million workers with contracts providing for automatic cost-of-living increases obtained raises of from 2 to 3 cents an hour as a result of the advance in the B. L. S. index during the past three months. In many cases these gains are additional to wage increases negotiated since the middle of the year. Last week also the United Steel Workers and the United States Steel Corporation signed an agreement providing for an average raise of 10 per cent, which conforms with the previously established pattern. Undoubtedly the rest of the steel industry will agree to similar terms and will then follow "Big Steel" in upping prices an average of 5½ per cent. It is argued that this increase will no more than cover higher employment costs, but the figures given in the corporation's last quarterly report suggest that this claim is too pessimistic. Certainly the industry's present rate of earnings indicates that it could afford to absorb at least part of the wage boost. On the other hand, in view of the premiums being paid in the gray market for steel, it is possible to argue that the industry is charging much less than the traffic would bear. Be that as it may, the fact remains that we are faced with an increase of half a billion dollars in the bill for our most basic material—an increase that before long will be reflected in a host of other prices.

*

NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE OF *THE NATION* WILL commemorate the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of this magazine and will be devoted to an examination—under the title "Peace with Russia: Can It Be Negotiated?"—of the massive problem of Russo-American relations. It is our belief that the articles in this issue will make a real contribution to the efforts of the many people of good-will throughout the world who still believe that the prospect of another world war is too ghastly to accept lying down.

Lame Duck Problems

THE appalling reverses in Korea have changed what was to have been the perfunctory sitting of a lame-duck Congress into an emergency session. Two weeks ago Senator Taft had said that its principal function would be to "adjourn." Instead, it is confronted with requests for supplemental appropriations of $1,000,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission and

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$17,000,000,000 for the regular military establishment. There is probably little disposition to question these grants, but politics-as-usual appears to be the reaction to the rest of the President's emergency requests. On only one of these is there prospect for even a reasonable compromise. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has recommended a two-month extension of the federal rent-control law, which is due to expire at the end of the year. The extension—the President had asked for three months—will allow communities that have so far failed to do so to pass rent curbs of their own. Some 670 cities have such ordinances now, but with the grim likelihood that we shall again have mass movements of workers to defense centers, it would be inexcusable to permit rent gouging in such industrial areas as Detroit, Seattle, San Francisco, and Cleveland. These are only a few of the large cities—there are more than 1,700 communities in all—that have made no provision. As Senator Maybank puts it, they "are again passing the buck to Congress." By the end of February we will probably know whether we are to have peace or war—at least in the immediate future—and plans for further extension can then be weighed.

For this obvious concession to reason Southern Senators have exacted a price: no action, on pain of filibuster, on the plan to admit Alaska and Hawaii to statehood. Dixiecrat objections to the move, which the President considers of the "greatest urgency," not only in the organization of the national defense but for its world-wide propaganda value as well, are shamelessly political. It would add four new Senators, John C. Stennis of Mississippi pointed out, who might hold the balance of power in a close vote. For fear that the new members, presumably two Republicans from Hawaii and two Administration Democrats from Alaska, might break the log-jam on the civil-rights program, Senator Russell of Georgia was ready to forget his life-long prejudice against federal power exercised at the expense of the states. If Alaska was in danger, he said, this was no time to release it from federal control and leave it to the mercies of "a new and untried state government." And Senator Butler, a Nebraska Republican who works easily with his Southern colleagues, expressed the fear that statehood would only burden the Senate with left-wingers, since elections in both territories would be controlled by "radical labor leaders." Not one of these statesmen, unhappily, is a lame duck.

No one imagined that this one-month session would yield the finances for carrying on what will be at least a defense economy and at worst a full-scale war, but there was some reason to believe that not even the Administration's most determined foes would begrudge it the four-billion-dollar excess-profits tax asked by the President. But as Representative Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, put it, while the Republicans were willing to support such a tax before the election, they now "are only interested in doing everything possible to avoid and delay the taxation of excessive profits from the war effort." Technical arguments can be advanced against the excess-profits levy, although in principle nothing should appeal more to pay-as-you-go advocates than a measure that would fall on profits acquired solely as a result of the war. Yet without an alternative plan of comparable equity, the committee's softening of the new measure—its proposal would cut the amount by close to a billion dollars—is niggardly in the extreme. Corporate profits currently run to $22,000,000,000 after taxes. The committee's enfeebled measure would reduce them to $18,700,000,000. For readers who may have no basis for comparison, we hasten to add that corporate profits in 1945 were only eight billion, and in the years from 1936 to 1939 they averaged half that.

There is every likelihood that Mr. Truman will get what he wants in the way of immediate war appropriations, but for the full structure of the new economy we shall have to look, warily and none too hopefully, to the Eighty-second Congress in January. It is then that the President will have to make a stand for economic controls, for repeal of the McCarran act, for civil-rights legislation, for a full and equitable tax measure, and for such social advance as he can hope to get from a more or less hostile legislature in a time of more or less war.

Attlee versus Truman

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST week's end-of-the-world mood has not lifted. While President Truman and General MacArthur joined in asserting that United Nations forces in Korea would fight to the end against aggression, their words brought no responsive echo from anywhere. Instead, hard-pressed leaders in other countries, watching MacArthur's drive to "end the war" collapse and turn into full retreat, began to weigh the remaining choices. They were meager, bleak, unappetizing: to fight a limitless war against China, committing all available resources for an indefinite period, with a good chance that Russia would intervene in support of its ally either in the East or in Europe; this—or a settlement, on terms favoring the aggressors. If Mr. Truman's casual brandishing of the atom bomb was intended to reassure the faint of heart, its effect must have astonished him. Horror overtook anxiety and helped crystallize opinion. Government leaders in Western Europe conferred, cabinets met. Alternative possibilities of settlement were discussed and apparently agreed upon. And Mr. Attlee came to Washington to tell the President that Europe opposed war with China.

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The job he faced was harder rather than easier as a result of the Chinese successes. The temper of this country favors retaliation, not retreat. The clamor for bombing attacks on Manchuria, for the use of Chinese Nationalist troops, for any method on earth that will stop the Communists and avenge the trapped and routed G. I.'s; the sense of shock and humiliation; the fear of worse to come if we don't lick them now: all these argue against negotiation and compromise.

Besides, the President and Secretary of State are, to a larger degree than Europe may realize, captives of the Republican extremists. Their tendency has been to sound more belligerent than the opposition in an effort to disprove charges of pussyfooting and appeasement. They have refrained from countering vigorously the effect of the spate of provocative statements and interviews issued by MacArthur and his Congressional claque. The Administration is also hobbled by its own ideas and its own mistakes. Mr. Truman was directly responsible for the Formosa policy, even though he rejected MacArthur's attempt to extend it to include overt support of Chiang. Nor did the Administration make any effort to check MacArthur's northward drive, either at the Thirty-eighth Parallel or at the "waistline" above Pyongyang. Nor did it heed India's direct warning that the offensive in North Korea would bring Chinese intervention, or the open threat of Chou En-lai, accepting instead MacArthur's assurances that nothing of the sort would happen. As far as we know it approved MacArthur's Thanksgiving offensive. And Mr. Truman in person said what was said about the atom bomb. News stories from Washington just prior to Mr. Attlee's arrival reported that Mr. Acheson had been given the job of "stiffening the spine" of the British, French, and other U. N. members, of preparing them to accept the necessity of bombing Manchurian bases and supply lines, and everything else that might follow.

Against this weight of emotion and political pressure and accomplished fact Mr. Attlee had to marshal the arguments of a war-battered Europe that finds itself on the verge of being catapulted helplessly into a struggle for which it is wholly unprepared, by methods it considers reckless and inept. The unhappy assignment of Britain's Prime Minister was to talk plainly about such ticklish matters as General MacArthur's leadership, Mr. Truman's assertion that he alone can order the use of the atom bomb, American intervention in Formosa, the powers assumed by Syngman Rhee, the effect of refusing Peking a seat in the United Nations. Europe's feeling about these policies is as strong today as the contrary emotions in Washington.

Asia's attitude is mixed. The free Asian countries fear both Communist expansion and American intervention. Though differing to some extent among themselves, they accept India as their spokesman and generally agree that their first obligation is to try to get along with China. Moves which directly challenge Chinese power have been regarded as indirect threats to them: thus they objected to Washington's policy of "insulating" Formosa. Our aid to France in Indo-China they consider open support of Western imperialism—as the Communists charge. They regard Syngman Rhee not as a national leader but as an American Bao Dai. They look upon Chiang as another American tool, defeated and discredited but still protected in his island stronghold by American arms. The views of Asia may be dismissed by political leaders who measure national influence solely in terms of industrial and military power. But an all-out war against China could hardly be won if free Asia maintained a hostile neutrality.

THE articles on the following pages document the differences dividing the United States, at this hour of desperate decision, from its allies and friends. Contrast Willard Shelton's report from Washington with Howard K. Smith's picture of Europe's reaction, reflected also in Del Vayo's description of the mood in the U. N.; the distance that must be bridged in Washington before any final decisions are made is reflected sharply in these three pieces. The ordinary citizen, bewildered by the sudden revelation of disunity in the presence of near-disaster, must wonder why he was not told before, explicitly and constantly, about these threatening divisions. The answer is twofold. On the one hand, the European nations have consistently soft-pedaled their disagreements and doubts, especially in the U. N. where their public attitude toward Washington has been little less than servile; among our friends only India has consistently told the truth, though its interventions have usually been too mild to carry the weight they deserved. On the other hand, the press has done an inadequate job of reporting the true feeling of Europe. Correspondents have tended to minimize such opposition as was expressed—let alone the more massive opposition that never came into the open. Apart from a few commentators, radio has been no better. An outstanding exception, in my opinion, is Howard K. Smith, whose Sunday broadcasts from London over C. B. S. have provided the most complete, unretouched report anywhere available. I need not say that this journal, too, from the start of the Korean campaign, has tried to tell the story of Europe's and Asia's fears about the policies and tactics applied in Korea.

But the failure of the big press and radio to distribute accurate, full information to the country at large has left the average American with little preparation for the blows his pride and sense of national security must now sustain. The danger is that he will either succumb to panic or try to write off as appeasement a necessary retreat from positions—military and political—that should never have been occupied.

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Europe Says No

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, December 4, by Cable

THERE are two significant facts about Attlee's visit to Washington. First, the decision to go was not an act of free will; he was propelled, against any previous intention of his own, by one of the most amazing political upheavals in Europe since the war. Second, his decision thus forced has made him a man of at least temporary power equal to the earth's big two, Truman and Stalin.

What propelled him was essentially a rebellion of free Europe against the kind of leadership America was giving to the West on the Korean issue. Discontent with American leadership has been boiling up independently inside each free nation over here. Last week, newspapers of Stockholm, Rome, and Vienna were speaking their minds on this question in language identical with that used in London and Paris. And disaffection rumbled with equal vehemence in all parties across the political spectrum. In the British House of Commons the public was treated to the singular spectacle of Labor's left-wing back-benchers praising the wisdom of a speech by Winston Churchill, and the Tory R. A. Butler was quoting from the left-wingers' mouthpiece, the *Tribune*.

The source of disaffection was best articulated in a London *Times* dispatch: "There has been a tendency for Washington to make pronouncements without consultation, leaving her allies with little alternative but to agree. . . . The Administration has taken decisions based less on rightness of policy than to keep Republicans in a cooperative mood. . . . Misgivings of other countries about American policy in Korea have been largely muffled because the United States has supplied such a great proportion of the troops; but the time for silence has ended."

Irritation began months ago with General MacArthur's visit to Formosa and his demonstration of solidarity with Chiang Kai-shek. The Generalissimo has not a single friend in Europe; he is considered a discredited figure, and his war with Red China one in which Europe wants no part. It was felt that MacArthur, as U. N. commander, had no mandate to make that demonstration. The rumblings of discontent grew louder when MacArthur permitted Syngman Rhee to send occupation governors and police to take over the liberated areas of North Korea in direct contravention of a U. N. decision which said that only the U. N. should control those areas. MacArthur's offensives toward the Manchurian frontier have seemingly been timed to frustrate the moves made in the U. N. to establish buffer zones and prevent a clash.

Curiously, it was not MacArthur but Truman who brought the rebellion to its climax and made the British House of Commons the epicenter of the discontent growing in all parts of Europe. The House happened to be in the middle of a foreign-affairs debate when Truman made his statement on the atom bomb. A Labor M. P. rose in the midst of the debate to read it out. Members flooded into the corridors and held hurried conferences. A Laborite drafted a letter to Attlee demanding that British troops be withdrawn from Korea if the bomb were used, and within two hours it was signed by 150 Labor M. P.'s. Anthony Eden is said to have offered his moral support to the rebels. Inside the House R. A. Butler called to the government benches, "The voice of Britain must be heard with greater authority. . . . This country must exert its influence to avoid war with China." And he repeated the proposal, made by many others in the debate, that Attlee himself should go to see Truman. With his own party in revolt and the opposition onslaught gathering momentum, Attlee hastened from the chamber, called an emergency Cabinet meeting, and made his decision to go.

The editorial cheers from all corners of Europe indicated that action was felt to be urgently needed. Churchill is said to have told Attlee that he would go with a politically unified nation behind him. The conference of Dominion commissioners here offered him the backing of the whole Commonwealth. The visit of Premier Pleven to London—following the thumping vote of confidence given him in the French Parliament for his foreign policy of "preventing the conflict from spreading, whatever the provocation and however clear our right of self-defense"—was taken to mean that Attlee would go as the representative of free Europe.

It is feared here that Attlee will need all of this authority that he can make felt. For the position he was ordered to take is likely to anger powerful interests and is susceptible to being given the terrifying label of appeasement. The argument is that war with China is a trap set by the Kremlin, and the West must avoid it at almost any cost.

The view here is that if the Americans consider this appeasement they will be under a dangerous delusion as to what the word means. To Europeans, who have the most intimate knowledge of the term, it means voluntarily giving the potential enemy positions of vantage he may use in the world-wide struggle. This was what was done at Munich. The definition does not fit in Korea. Korea is not such a position; the Reds cannot move anywhere from Korea, for it is surrounded by water which is dominated by the United States navy. But if the United Nations accepts the challenge of war in Korea, it will virtually be appeasing. By allowing our resources to be sucked into the vast wastes of China we shall be baring to Communist penetration areas that are of strategic importance—Indo-China, gate-

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way to Southeast Asia; the Middle East, gateway to Suez and Africa; and finally Europe itself. According to this argument the real appeasers are those generally identified with the China lobby, who would fall into the Red trap by going to war over strategically useless Korea at the cost of sacrificing the rest of the world.

An argument of equal merit which Attlee is entitled to make has to do with morale. The West, it is felt here, should accept the challenge to war only when the right is clearly on its side. Free Europe and Asia do not believe it *is* in Korea. Rightly or wrongly, MacArthur's actions have been considered needless provocations of the Chinese—after all, it is said, the hubbub is not occurring near *our* frontiers and key industries, where we might be given the benefit of the doubt, but near China's frontiers and industries, where *they* deserve the benefit of some doubt. Europe would go into a war over Korea believing it could have been avoided had Truman kept MacArthur in reasonable check. Minds here would be clouded with doubts, and the effort would be half-hearted, hardly a proper mood in which to begin the greatest struggle for freedom of all time. As the *New Statesman and Nation* says, the apathy perceptible all over the free world outside America would quickly turn into outright anti-war sentiment.

Atomic Diplomacy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, December 2

THE one point that must be kept in mind in discussing the latest developments in Korea and the crisis in the United Nations is that no solution is possible unless it accepts the inescapable necessity of recognizing the Peking government as the real government of China. It is because that point has been evaded, because the government of Mao Tse-tung has not been allowed to speak for China in the United Nations, that the present situation has developed; in order to put an end to it, an end that will not involve the whole world in a fantastic war, the initial error will have to be corrected.

This, in my opinion, must be the approach to the problem of China if we hope to understand what has happened and what lies ahead, the discussions at Lake Success this past week, as well as the decisive conferences beginning in Washington on Monday. To cling to the belief, at this stage, that purely military readjustments or even the creation of a "buffer zone" in Korea will suffice, is to ignore the central fact—that the international status of China, with its corollary, sovereignty over all Chinese territory including Formosa, is of first importance to the Peking government.

This was made plain on Tuesday in the stiff, uncompromising address of Peking's envoy, General Wu Hsiu-chuan. The tone of strength and self-confidence in which it was delivered, befitting a victorious revolutionary regime which resents any challenge to its authority, recalled those vigorous notes written by Chicherin in the days of Allied intervention in Russia after World War I. In his letter to President Wilson, dated October 24, 1918, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs wrote:

> You have promised, Mr. President, to cooperate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this cooperation took the form of an attempt of the Czechoslovak troops and later, in Archangel, Murmansk, and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in October, 1917.

The long struggle of the triumphant Soviet regime to force international recognition and to end Western attempts to play off the old Russia against the new was revived in the defiant statement of the Peking envoy before the Security Council. Only those who lacked all sense of history could mistake its revolutionary ardor or see in it only primitive violence. General Wu Hsiu-chuan's recital of Mao's solemn declaration of October 1, 1949, had a historic ring: "I declare to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of China"; as did his evocation of "the tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past years in military, economic, political, and cultural construction" and his attack upon the imperialist forces which had held the old China in the grip of oppression and misery. Even those who see the Chinese attack as nothing but simple aggression should not ignore the sources in revolutionary tradition of General Wu's pronouncement.

By comparison the other contributions to the debate sounded weak and ineffective, including the much-advertised "twenty questions "propounded by Senator Austin. Even the British spokesmen, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, was unable to achieve the tone which had gained him a reputation as one of the wisest men in the Council. It is true that he spoke at a most difficult moment, amid the bewilderment that followed upon the news of President Truman's atom-bomb press conference. His speech, awaited with impatience by delegates, staff members, and correspondents, was most disappointing. Not only did he fail to dissociate himself from the position taken by his American colleague; on the question of Formosa he went much farther toward support of the American view than the British government had done.

In fact, Sir Gladwyn's speech compounded the confusion by appearing to deny the differences of opinion

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among the United States, Britain, and France upon which the hope of compromise had been built. But when word came of Prime Minister Attlee's prospective visit to Washington and of Winston Churchill's remarkable speech opposing the MacArthur strategy, the confusion began to dissipate. The attitude of the British was further clarified by the pertinent comments of Kenneth Younger, delegate and Minister of State, at a luncheon meeting of the Foreign Policy Association today, where he vehemently criticized what he called "a superficially tough policy" in the Far East. Apparently Sir Gladwyn had either spoken in accordance with earlier instructions, already outdated, or had deliberately tried to establish Britain's basic solidarity with the United States in order to cushion the serious disagreements to follow.

Sober and subtle, the Indian representative, Sir Benegal N. Rau, by declining to participate in the vote rather than merely abstaining, reserved himself for the role of intermediary, which he is playing with a degree of discretion unusual in this Tower of Babel. The Indians are convinced that whatever possibilities of settlement remain could well be ruined by premature publicity.

Although attention is now fixed on Washington rather than Lake Success, there is great concern here about Secretary Acheson's reported decision to press for action in the Assembly on the resolution vetoed by Russia in the Security Council. Acheson apparently intends to have the matter brought up early in the week and would include in the resolution the open charge of aggression which was deliberately left out of the version presented to the Council. To attempt this before a decision has been reached by Truman and Attlee, and at a time when no one here knows how the United Nations is to extricate itself from the present impasse, seems both futile and unwise. The last thing the United States should wish to do is to hamstring the negotiations in Washington by a move that would close the way to a peaceful solution. If agreement is to be reached at this stage, bold "atomic" diplomacy, wiping out past errors in their entirety, must be adopted.

Gloom in Washington

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, November 30

FOR the past forty-eight hours the capital has been gripped by as bad a case of war jitters as just before Pearl Harbor. In private State Department and Defense officials have bluntly discussed the imminent threat of World War III. This is not a time for guessing about the future, but it may be worth while to analyze some of the critical problems created by the intervention of the Chinese Communists in Korea.

As yet no one here pretends to know the scope of Chinese intentions. The President today, and Secretary Acheson last night, announced that we would not "abandon" Korea to Communist aggression. But Defense Department officials have always recognized that if the Chinese committed unlimited forces against Korean and United Nations troops they might hurl us into the sea. What Truman and Acheson said was the least they could say at the moment. The hope was that a line could be held across the narrow waist of Korea, that the Chinese, after driving us back from the Yalu, would disengage their forces. But the full-scale commitment of China's battle-tested armies could drag us into an endless war of attrition.

Acheson suggested to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Russia might choose this moment, or some moment in the near future, when our entire effective fighting strength was engaged in the Far East, to strike in Europe. A high Defense Department official believes that our superiority in atomic weapons will force the Soviets to remain inactive. But if our intelligence service is as wrong about Russia's atom-bomb supply as General MacArthur's intelligence was wrong about the Chinese in Korea, the issue of peace or war lies wholly with Russia. Moreover, it is conceivable, or so many believe, that this country may soon be in the position of splendid isolation apparently thought desirable by Senator Taft—an isolation created by the destruction or withdrawal of potential allies.

For days after the Chinese struck in Korea the United States and the United Nations were literally without a policy. The American delegation at Lake Success took all the steps necessary to by-pass the Soviet veto on the Security Council and get the General Assembly to order the Chinese out of Korea, though the Chinese had already said they would not comply. In Europe strong criticism was voiced against General MacArthur, whose Formosa adventure—though repudiated by President Truman—had aroused apprehension that the United States was considering a campaign to help Chiang Kai-shek reconquer the Chinese mainland.

Officials here who were greatly irritated by MacArthur's flamboyant visit to Chiang on Formosa are now coming to his defense. For weeks before he launched his ill-fated Thanksgiving Day offensive, the Chinese had been feeding supplies and troops into Korea. Russian-made jets attacked our planes from Manchurian soil and fled to haven across the border when repulsed. MacArthur has a responsibility for the security of our fighting forces, and his directives were broad enough to allow him to invoke the doctrine of "hot pursuit" against the Manchurian-based planes. It is flatly declared that, far from flirting with deliberate provocations, he respected both the letter and the spirit of his orders to avoid, if possible, inciting the Chinese.

An authoritative source said last week that the tim-

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ing of MacArthur's attempted offensive with the arrival of the Chinese Communists at Lake Success was "purely coincidental." It took a certain period to mount our attack, he said, and the Chinese delegation originally was expected to arrive earlier than it did. When it is now asked why, since the Chinese were coming, the offensive was not delayed pending an attempt to negotiate, the frank answer is that we expected to win and confront the Peking regime with a *fait accompli.*

Some officials admit also that they never considered negotiations with the Chinese possible except on their terms, which would bar an "unfriendly"—that is, non-Communist—regime in Korea. The first aggression, they say, was launched by Korean Communists armed by the Chinese and Russians. The second and worse aggression was committed by the Chinese themselves, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they delayed any longer than was necessary in order to prepare their own forces or that they would have been halted by a buffer-zone agreement or by some other attempt to negotiate.

Mr. Truman's off-the-cuff remark today that we were giving active consideration to the use of atomic bombs against the Chinese was belatedly modified by a "clarifying" statement from the White House. It was pointed out in the later statement that before the bombs can be used the President must give specific orders to the Atomic Energy Commission, which controls the stockpile. But in the meantime the headlines had marched clear across the world, and the effect was shocking.

Most of the reporters attending the President's news conference believed at the moment that he deliberately used and repeated the "active-consideration" phrase as a warning to either the Chinese or the Russians. He was asked three times about the bomb and therefore had a chance to modify his statement. Not for two hours did the clarification come, and only then was it plain that giving "active consideration" did not mean that we were ready to use the bomb in China but merely that we had included consideration of the use of our atomic weapons in weighing the explosive potentialities of the world situation. The President's words at the news conference permit such a clarification, but the damage was done. It is one thing for China-lobby irresponsibles in Congress to cry recklessly for the use of this dread weapon against the people of Asia and another thing entirely for the President and Commander-in-Chief to be ambiguous.

The announcement that Clement Attlee was flying to confer with the President was greeted with cheers in the House of Commons. The British have never been so unrealistic about the Chinese Communist regime as the Formosa-firsters in this country, who apparently cannot realize that in risking full-scale war with the Peking regime they risk alienation of Asia and the sacrifice of Western Europe. Even responsible officials here, however, still say there is no evidence that the Chinese are willing to negotiate except on terms of our withdrawal from Korea and their admission to the United Nations. In any case, the tempo of our "gray mobilization," to use the phrase now commonly accepted, seems certain to be stepped up.

Nepal: Fairy Tale in Technicolor

BY JEAN LYON

New Delhi, November 23

NEPAL'S fugitive king and a few hundred of its more articulate and aggressive political exiles have managed to raise the curtain on the incredibly medieval rule in that mountain-locked Himalayan kingdom. At the same time, in spite of the tiny dimensions of their revolution, they have placed their little country of some five and a half million people on the growing list of international problems.

The problem of Nepal is not simply which king to recognize—the forty-six-year-old Tribhuvana Bir Bikram Shah Dev, now a fugitive in New Delhi, or his three-year-old grandson, Dhiraja Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, who is still in Kathmandu, Nepal's capital. It is also whether Nepal, under any feudal overlord, even one in control of 25,000 Gurkha troops who give him dog-like loyalty, will serve as a buffer against communism if it spreads through bordering Tibet.

If democratic countries back the baby king in Kathmandu, they may find themselves once more bolstering a crumbling reactionary regime in a vain effort to hold back the Communist revolution. If they decide, for good diplomatic reasons, to back the rebels, who are ostensibly in favor of a democratic constitutional monarchy headed by the exiled king, they will be giving power to a poorly organized group whose popular support in Nepal is still an unknown quantity.

When conditions in Nepal are described as feudal, the word is not used loosely or as a quote from Communist propaganda. Nepal is run by the hereditary Prime Minister, his brothers, and their heirs—the Rana family—as though it were their family estate. For 104 years

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the Ranas have wielded supreme authority in civil and military matters. King Tribhuvana, not a Rana, has been the virtual prisoner of his Prime Minister for the entire forty years of his reign.

On November 6 the King made a bolt for freedom. First he ducked unceremoniously into the Indian embassy in his capital and then, after receiving assurances that he would be given political asylum, he flew to New Delhi. He managed to bring with him his own sons and the oldest son of the Crown Prince. The second son of the Crown Prince, the baby Gyanendra, was being cared for by his mother's family, which put him in the Rana orbit and made him the logical choice as puppet king.

The revolution which was touched off by the King's flight was apparently quelled within eight days. It was led by the Nepali Congress Party, whose membership has lived for the most part across the border in India and has included not only idealistic reformers but disgruntled Ranas. The party has drawn inspiration from the Indian National Congress and patterned its program on that of the Congress. Its members have attended Indian Congress sessions as fraternal delegates, and their number increased appreciably after India achieved independence. Individual Indians have undoubtedly given support to the Nepali dissidents.

Nepal is a story-book country. Among its imports are the feathers of the bird of paradise, brought from Indonesia to decorate the hats of the Rana noblemen. The automobiles on the streets of Kathmandu were carried on the backs of coolies across six mountain ranges. If the coolies were paid the equivalent of ten cents a day they were lucky. No Westerner can get into Nepal without what amounts to a personal invitation from the Prime Minister.

Instead of taxes the people pay land rents to their village headmen, who pass the money on to the Prime Minister's henchmen, who in turn pass it on to the national treasury. No one knows what the national budget is unless the Prime Minister chooses to tell. A list of ten Ranas who are in line for the post of Prime Minister is always kept up to date. Today it includes the commander-in-chief of the army, the so-called senior commander, two commanding generals who are Nepal's ambassadors to London and New Delhi, and several other generals.

The king is considered the reincarnation of the Hindu god, Shiva, and the Ranas have been willing to let him play this role. They have kept his sons in separate palaces, allowing the family to meet only for religious festivals. Before his flight the King had managed to visit India twice, under close guard, once for a religious festival and once for treatment of a heart ailment. He was in Calcutta in 1947 when the reorganization of the Nepali Congress Party was effected there.

Nepal's one link with the world beyond the mountain ranges has been its exportation of Gurkha soldiers, famed as the toughest mercenary fighters of the last two world wars. Germans and Japanese were terrified by the Gurkhas, armed with their tiny curved *kakri*, the knives with which they can sever a head with a flick of the wrist. These latter-day Hessians can return home only on presentation of a certificate from their commanding officer saying that they have not violated the caste laws.

Dimly aware of outside pressure, the Ranas have talked of modernizing their state. In 1925 they abolished slavery and the practice of suttee. The victory of the Communists in China forced them to talk of a constitution, and this September the first Nepali Parliament was assembled. Of twenty-six members of the upper house, fourteen bore the name Rana: of twenty-seven representatives in the lower house, twelve were Ranas. General Baber Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, the commander-in-chief, presided over the upper house, and General Kaiser Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, senior commander, over the lower house. Since there had not been time to build two chambers, both houses were seated in the same auditorium and were addressed simultaneously by the Prime Minister.

The chief event of the session was the report of the head of the Constitution Commission, Lieutenant Colonel Subarna Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana. Many difficulties, Subarna said, had been encountered in introducing elective government in Nepal. In the capital city of Kathmandu, out of twenty-one elected members of a local council, eleven resigned almost immediately, and not long afterward six of the remaining ten resigned. Excuses were "ill-health" and "private reasons." The government thereupon appointed others. Landlords and intellectuals were to elect representatives of their groups to Parliament, Subarna reported, but so far the landlords had nominated no one, and of the five candidates put up by the intellectuals three had withdrawn, thus insuring the election of the other two. "The fact that our educated classes," he said, "have avoided strife in the election is indeed a happy sign."

"We don't believe in rushing things," the Prime Minister told a New York *Times* correspondent last July. "Democracy is foreign to Eastern culture, and it takes time to convince the people that it is good." If the Prime Minister did not feel any need for speed in democratizing Nepal, the King and the exiled leaders of Nepal's Congress Party did. The King fled two weeks after the Chinese Communists announced that their army was entering Tibet, which lies just over the Mount Everest mountain range from Nepal and for five hundred miles has a common border with Nepal.

How much the events in Tibet had to do with the timing of the King's flight and the Congress Party's simultaneous insurrection it is difficult to say. Since the rebels were obviously not well prepared, something must

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have set them off ahead of time, and that something may have been the miscarriage of messages to the King or the sudden entrance of the Chinese into Tibet, or perhaps both. Certainly the Nepali Congress Party made use of the misgivings created in Indian minds by the events in Tibet. Its president, M. P. Koirala, told the press in New Delhi that the continuance of the present Rana regime in Nepal was the "surest way to invite communism."

Indian opinion has been strongly in favor of the rebels, but the government has behaved with extreme correctness. Although it continues to recognize Tribhuvana as king, it closed the border during the period of fighting so that neither arms nor reinforcements from India could be moved into Nepal. This cut the rebels off from their one source of supply and gave the Ranas the advantage.

Nepal's religious and cultural affinity to India is close, but for a period during the Manchu rule in China, which ended in 1908, Nepal paid tribute once every five years to China's emperor. This relationship might conceivably be resurrected by the Peking government if it wished to draw Nepal into its sphere of influence.

Events in Nepal have once more demonstrated the existence of new political and social forces in the most isolated areas of Asia. The Nepali Congress leaders have not abandoned hope that their revolution will yet succeed in ousting the feudal Rana regime, but they are aware that Communist influences from the north may upset their plans.

The Registration of Heretics

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, November 28

LOS ANGELES COUNTY has the dubious distinction of being the first county to demand a loyalty oath from public employees (August 26, 1947) and the first to require the registration of so-called "subversives" (August 23, 1950). Here, where the symptoms of hysteria are most pronounced, the clearest view of the underlying pathology can be obtained.

The registration requirement was formulated in three separate but closely related ordinances which were adopted without prior notice or formal public hearings; indeed, one member of the Board of Supervisors had not had a chance to read their contents when the vote was taken. Each starts out with an elaborate set of "findings" about the Communist Party and communism purporting to show that a "clear and present danger" threatens the peace and security of Los Angeles. This danger is found in the nature, goals, and manner of functioning of certain "active disciplined organizations" making up the "world Communist movement" and also in the "strategic location" of Los Angeles as a port of embarkation for military operations in the Pacific. The first specifies that all members of organizations existing for the purpose of advancing the objectives of the world Communist movement must register; the second adds members of organizations advocating the use of force and violence in the overthrow of our present form of constitutional government; the third is designed to include groups that advocate what might be called "defensive force and violence." Membership in all these organizations is ingeniously related to the findings of "clear and present danger" by the imposition of two restrictions on registrants: they are declared ineligible to serve in civilian-defense organizations and forbidden to carry or possess "concealed weapons or explosives." Specific criminal penalties are provided for failure to register. Although the ordinances state that the names of those who register are to be kept "exclusively for the confidential use of county officials," certain provisions indicate that both public and private institutions may consult the list.

The "world-wide revolutionary movement" which endangers the peace and security of Los Angeles is described as based on precepts of Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Stalin as "they have been and are presently being executed by" the Soviet Union and its satellites. The organizations whose members must register are not named, but certain "tests" are set forth which are to be used in identifying them. Included would be those which operate "primarily" for the purpose of advancing the world Communist movement; those which "consistently" promulgate, support, or adhere to the programs, policies, and objectives of "a foreign Communist government, foreign Communist organization," or any agency in which is vested control or direction of the world Communist movement; and those which support, "without substantial deviation," the strategy, tactics, and methods which "have been or now are regularly adopted or employed by" world communism. A "member" is defined as any person who is "recognized" as such by an organization, or who is formally affiliated or associated with it, or who accepts its "policies or programs or is active in its behalf." The ambiguity of such terms as "primarily," "without substantial deviation," and "consistently" scarcely requires emphasis. The indefiniteness of the membership provisions is of course purposeful, being

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intended to vest authorities with the widest possible discretion in picking individuals to proceed against.

A long brief would be needed to point out the constitutional objections to these ordinances, but one basic difficulty may be noted. The criminal-syndicalism statutes which came in the wake of World War I originated, as is well known, in California. The California act made it illegal to teach, advocate, or abet the doctrines which are now called the doctrines of the "world Communist movement." Registration under these ordinances would be tantamount, therefore, to pleading guilty to a violation of the criminal-syndicalism act—a form of self-incrimination from which the individual is protected by both the state and the federal constitution.

THE real story of the ordinances is to be found in the circumstances which brought them into being. These were recently explained to me by Gerald G. Kelly, assistant county counsel, who drafted both the county loyalty oath and the registration requirements. Shortly after the adoption of the county loyalty oath, county officials began to feel a new pressure from various civic organizations. "You have purged the county civil-service lists," they were told, "but in doing so you have merely turned these 'subversives' loose to roam at large like mad dogs. You must now identify them for the protection of the public." The logic of the protest was unimpeachable: if an individual is so dangerous, merely by reason of his views and affiliations, that he cannot be permitted to sweep a street or empty a wastebasket for the county, then surely he should not be employed in a defense plant or be left free to roam the streets of a "strategically located" city.

The loyalty oath led directly to the enactment of the registration ordinances for the further reason that county officials soon learned the weaknesses of such an affidavit as a precautionary measure. According to Mr. Kelly, three types of "subversives" were detected: (1) those who bluntly refused to sign the oath and were therefore discharged; (2) those suspected of being "reds" and of swearing falsely but concerning whom proof was lacking; and (3) those who resigned on one pretense or another rather than sign or refuse to sign.

Three years' experience with the loyalty affidavit had also convinced county officials that the Communists had sought to infiltrate certain "strategic" departments, namely, the Probation and Charities departments and the County Library. I was struck by the logic used to support this conclusion. "Reds" had tried to infiltrate the Probation and Charities departments because these departments, which deal with human suffering and distress, provide the most likely fields for recruiting new members. They had tried to infiltrate the County Library because librarians "direct people's reading" and therefore influence their thinking. The belief that "reds" were concentrated in the County Library was supported by the fact that the librarians had put up the stoutest resistance to the loyalty oath. To consider their resistance due to their keener realization of the meaning of loyalty oaths would be a complete reversal of cause and effect from Mr. Kelly's point of view.

To those who remember the movement which culminated in the mass evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans in 1942, it is clear that the Los Angeles registration ordinances are a step in a campaign which has selective internment for its goal. Just as the loyalty affidavit led to the registration ordinances, so these ordinances will only stimulate the demand for internment. And that is their real purpose. No serious effort has been made to enforce them. To date only three arrests have been made, and the only person who has voluntarily registered is an elderly bachelor who insists that he joined the Communist Party back in 1897! If it is understood that the ordinances were passed to demonstrate an assumed "necessity" for internment, then they make sense. That virtually no one has come forward to be registered is already being pointed to as "proof" that stronger measures are needed. Moreover, the Japanese American fiasco provides a clear constitutional blueprint: declare the West Coast a military zone and authorize the military commander to remove all persons regarded as bad security risks. Under the fateful Korematsu decision of the Supreme Court, removal can then be ordered without charges or a hearing. Once "evacuees" are removed to "relocation centers," hearings would have to be held to justify further detention—as in the Endo case—but the onus and expense of the entire procedure could be saddled on the federal government.

Registration ordinances of the type adopted in Los Angeles County should be viewed in a specific legal-historical perspective. The California Criminal Syndicalism Act of 1919, under which 504 persons were arrested, 264 tried, and 164 convicted, represented a new method of coping with radical doctrines and revolutionary parties by legal means. Up to then reliance had been placed on general criminal statutes—dealing with assault, treason, arson, destruction of property, murder, and so forth—supplemented by conspiracy indictments. After World War I these measures were felt to be inadequate precisely because they failed to reach, not offenses committed, but thoughts, impulses, and inclinations which indicated even the mildest sympathy with the heresy of socialism. Measures like the criminal-syndicalism act were an attempt to invest government with power over groups and individuals and activities which could not be reached by ordinary criminal statutes against specific overt acts. In this sequence, registration ordinances and loyalty affidavits represent a further attempt to extend the power of government to control thoughts and tendencies as well as such activities as "teaching"

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and "advocacy." "Thoughts" are now regarded as more dangerous than "acts" precisely because they are harder to detect and more difficult to control. Registration statutes, seen in this perspective, are not merely current aberrations but logical extensions of devices used earlier. They are manifestations of a more or less constant tendency to suppress the socialist heresy.

[*Since this article was written, Justice of the Peace Myer B. Marion, with rare courage, has declared the county ordinances unconstitutional, but the county is taking an appeal.*]

These "Feeble" French

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. The Alternative to Leading

Paris, November

EVER since 1940, if not before, it has been customary in the English-speaking world to regard the French as "feeble." Yet is there any evidence that if France were an island it would not have won its battle for survival, or that Paris would not have "taken it" as well as London did? On the other hand, if there had been no Channel—however, let's skip it. In 1940 the French were the victims both of their geography and of their bad foreign policy. Their geography they cannot change, but in their foreign policy they are trying not to repeat the errors of the inter-war period.

One often hears it said in Paris that Britain does not understand France, and that Laborite "insularity" has done great harm to Anglo-French relations. The lack of sympathy between Mr. Bevin and all recent French governments has, of course, been complete; the French Socialists and the British Labor Party scarcely ever see eye-to-eye on anything, and Bevin's surrender to Acheson on the principle of German rearmament was the last of the let-downs. It has created much bitterness here.

France today is a relatively small power on the western tip of what is left of a "democratic" Europe. Its neighbors, other than a standoffish England and little Belgium, are Franco's Spain, Gasperi's Italy, Adenauer's Germany. De Gaulle may talk grandiloquently about France's "mission in Europe," and even of its world mission, but France is really in no position to lead. The great question round which all recent discussions have revolved is whether the only alternative to leading is following blindly, whether it would not be possible for France to follow America in the main but not unconditionally, and not without, sometimes, pointing the way. France may be "feeble," but in the opinion of many, it can use certain levers on American policy. The choice between America and Russia has, willy-nilly, been made; neutralism in its pure form is nothing more than an *état d'esprit*.

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And yet the resistance to the dictation of the United States is unmistakable, and largely accounts for France's unwillingness to join the other eleven partners in the Atlantic Pact in signing on the dotted line. France is not interested in fighting an ideological war—even a "just war"—for Western democracy. All it wants is to survive by avoiding war. The replacement of American by German divisions is profoundly disturbing to it, since Germans, uncontrolled by a "European" authority, might deliberately provoke a war. "If the Americans rearm Germany regardless of what we think," a person very close to the government told me the other day, "it will be the beginning of the end of the Atlantic Pact." He recalled that Schuman not long ago had described as a "monstrosity" the very suggestion that the Atlantic Pact would inevitably lead to German rearmament. The real danger of a German army today, he said, was that it would drag France into war against Russia. On the same subject M. Pleven himself said at Lyons last week that France could not be induced *at any price* to join in a crusade. This should be understood not only by the Germans but by certain American generals.

Even so, as a concession to the United States, the French government has sanctioned German rearmament within a supra-national European framework. Is this only a delaying tactic? Not entirely. European federalism is not so remote and academic a conception to the French as it is to the British. "We want to be part of a great European power bloc, and as such we shall be loyal allies of Britain and America, but we refuse to be one of the many Liberias and Guatemalas." That is the kind of remark one hears from many people close to the government, even from those who admit that the Pleven plan in its present form is "unrealistic." Is all this French resistance, then, a lot of eyewash, and will the Americans in the end do in Germany precisely as they like? One should not be too sure. After all, the Americans *need* the French, and if they go ahead regardless, a strong "neutralist" current might develop, or, as one government supporter put it, "a sincere fellow-feeling for Poland and Czechoslovakia."

Under duress the French are showing signs of partly surrendering to the United States on the question of German army units outside a "European army," though

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they still agree "in principle" only to the latter. They are also falling into line with Britain and America with respect to a four-power conference on the neutralization of Germany. But this will not change their fundamental feeling about the danger of Nazi elements eventually gaining the upper hand in the Wehrmacht and provoking a war of revenge or about the desirability of a four-power parley as the last chance to stop German remilitarization.

WITH German rearmament looming large on the horizon, it would be a mistake to imagine that the French—even the most anti-Communist French—do not at times feel tempted to look at what's on the other side of Germany. Less than two months ago M. Pleven's paper, *Le Petit Bleu des Côtes du Nord*, suggested that it might be as well, before proceeding with West German rearmament, to ask the Russians how far they really intend to go with their rearmament of East Germany. Many commentators regret that this excellent idea should not have been followed up. Similarly some surprise is felt that no one among the Western Allies should have taken the trouble to inquire a little more closely into the proposals formulated by the Eastern Foreign Ministers' conference in Prague. Since the Russians appeared genuinely to have got a scare, and to be willing to compromise on German unity and arrive at an agreement on German demilitarization, why did nobody take them at their word, as M. Daniel Mayer, speaking for the French Socialists, suggested? If the Americans go ahead with arming the Germans and the Russians repudiate the Franco-Soviet pact of 1944, the French may be more upset than one realizes.

Whatever the Russians propose is being automatically turned down or ignored. But the French are not altogether happy about it. Even the plan for a "European army"—in itself partly an attempt to meet the Americans halfway—is not found attractive. A good many speakers in the recent debate on the Pleven plan wondered what the psychological effect would be on the French soldier of going into battle side by side with ex-Nazis against the Russians, who, after all, had never done France, still less him personally, any harm. French parliamentary opinion, as expressed in the debate, was almost unanimous that war with Russia was not inevitable. The most striking exception to this attitude was provided by France's baby Churchill, Paul Reynaud. France also has its pugnacious septuagenarians!

The French are profoundly convinced that military victory in itself is nothing; what matters is what happens afterward. American hobnobbing with Syngman Rhee has made a nauseating impression on everybody here, and has caused all good "democrats" and U. N. enthusiasts to blush with embarrassment. As for Bao Dai, he is, as one speaker in a recent debate put it, "a puppet of your own making, whose strings you are no longer able to pull." He and his foreign minister are treating the French in a most casual manner and are clearly suggesting that the Americans will help them just as they helped Syngman Rhee. It is scarcely surprising, in the circumstances, that General Juin should have remarked after his visit to Indo-China, "We shall have to ask the United States for equipment—I say the United States, *not* the United Nations." The indications today are that the French will try, with American equipment, to consolidate to some extent their military position in Indo-China, after which they will be in a better position to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh—and at the same time with Mao Tse-tung. What they would like is something like the Anglo-Indian arrangement. They do not want to go on with the war in Indo-China indefinitely; at the same time they are unwilling to write off everything—their investments and the much more than a billion dollars already spent on the war—by handing the country over to the tender services of MacArthur. The Mendès-France speech in the National Assembly recommending negotiations with Ho Chi Minh as the only realistic solution, under which at least something might be saved of French wealth and French prestige in Southeast Asia, carried far more weight in France than is understood abroad.

But in Indo-China as elsewhere America has got to pay if the French are to resist effectively. Pending a "military pool," the French are far from pleased with the amount of rearmament they are expected to buy. Last August when they proposed equipping fifteen divisions in addition to the five already in position, they thought America would be delighted and pay ungrudgingly. But when M. Petsche returned from Washington bringing only the promise of 70 billion francs, instead of the 270 billions the French had asked for to help cover their deficit, the question arose whether it wouldn't be wiser to cut down the fifteen divisions to something more modest.

The negotiations are now continuing, but the first French reaction was characteristic. Least of all in a pre-election year is the French government inclined to take heroic measures to wipe out the budget deficit. France's proposed military expenditure for 1951 is 500 billion francs for the regular defense budget and 350 billions for rearmament proper—a total of 850 billion francs. Even if the United States pays the 70 billion francs (in free dollars) for the second half of 1951, as well as for the first half, France will be left with 130 billions (plus the original 80 billions) of "pure rearmament" to pay out of its own pocket. Psychologically, at any rate, rearmament is, to the French, a bit of luxury which they would rather do without. Butter—and houses and schools too—rather than guns is something about which everybody still feels very strongly.

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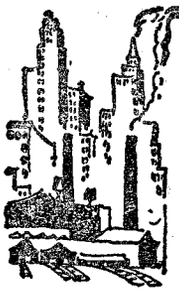

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Colombo Plan, I

ONE-QUARTER of the earth's population, 570,000,000 people, live in South and Southeast Asia, a region which comprises India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, and Indonesia. In ancient times this part of the world was considered a treasure house, rich in precious metals, jewels, and rare spices; and indeed it produced fabulous wealth for a handful of native rulers and Western merchant adventurers. But abject poverty has always been and still is the common lot of the mass of its inhabitants. Today, it is estimated, net annual income per capita in South and Southeast Asia is $56—one-tenth of that in Britain, one-twentieth of that in the United States. In India average daily consumption of cereals, almost the sole article of diet, is twelve ounces, and the supply of cloth amounts to ten yards per capita annually, or barely sufficient for two garments.

Yet this region does not lack natural resources. It produces, in fact, very large amounts of raw materials for Western industries—nearly all the world's exports of jute and rubber, three-quarters of its tea, two-thirds of its tin, one-third of its oils and fats. Burma and Indonesia possess important oil fields; India has vast deposits of coal and iron; the great rivers that spring from the Himalayan glaciers afford tremendous possibilities for hydroelectric development.

But the potential wealth of these Asiatic countries remains locked up behind bars of ignorance and poverty. A large majority of their people scratch a bare living from the soil, using only the most primitive hand tools. Famine is a frequent experience, and taking the region as a whole, the cultivators at best never have more than a small surplus of food to exchange for industrial products. Were the productivity of agricultural labor doubled, which would still leave it low by comparison with that of Western countries, not only could standards of food consumption be immensely improved but millions of men could be released from the soil for industrial employment.

Last January a conference of British Commonwealth foreign ministers at Colombo, Ceylon, agreed to cooperate in a comprehensive attack on the problem of poverty and economic underdevelopment in South and Southeast Asia, where well over half the total population of the Commonwealth lives. As a result a Commonwealth Consultative Committee was organized, and the governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and British North Borneo were invited to draw up six-year programs which they could carry out provided that their own financial resources were supplemented by a moderate amount of external assistance. At the end of September this committee assembled in London, where it was joined by representatives of Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam and by observers from Burma and Indonesia. The draft programs were then fully discussed, with special consideration given to the question of what external aid, by way both of finance and of trained man-power, would be required for their implementation. Finally the committee prepared a detailed report, which has now been published under the title of the Colombo Plan.

"The heart of the problem," this document declares, "is the underemployment which results from pressure of the population on the land." Consequently, all the programs except that for Singapore—an urban community whose most urgent investment needs are for education, health services, and housing—give priority to agricultural development. Thus India with plans calling for a total capital expenditure in six years of $3,861,000,000 proposes to devote one-third of this sum to projects which will directly contribute to the expansion of farm production. These include several large-scale flood-control schemes, inspired in part by TVA, which are expected to bring six million acres of land under irrigation by 1956-57 and to provide substantial amounts of electric power. Agriculture will also benefit, of course, from investments in rail and road transport facilities, which are designed to open up districts now isolated and to enlarge the size of the domestic market.

Provided that the full program can be achieved, the Indian government hopes to increase food output by 3,000,000 tons and to effect substantial additions to the production of cotton, jute, oil seeds, and other industrial crops. The larger supplies of food thus made available will in part be absorbed by the growth of population, which will probably exceed 20,000,000 in the period, but a modest improvement in per capita consumption of cereals should be attained.

Drainage and irrigation schemes are also a feature of the Pakistani and Ceylonese plans. The first expects to improve six million acres by these means, and will seek to increase productivity generally by distributing better types of seed and by encouraging the use of fertilizer. In Ceylon, it is estimated, only about half the potentially productive soil is being cultivated, and two-thirds of this is occupied by plantation crops grown for export. Thus attention will be concentrated on the development of land suitable for rice and garden produce.

Pakistan, unlike India, has practically no industries at present, and 37 per cent of its planned investment is earmarked for the development of fuel and power resources and additions to manufacturing facilities. Hydroelectric power potential is estimated at between five and six million kilowatts, but present installed capacity is only 9,600 kilowatts, and per capita consumption of electricity in Pakistan amounts to only 1.9 k. w. h. per capita annually compared with 2,296 k. w. h. in the United States. Within the next six years a three-to-fourfold addition to this meager supply is projected.

Details such as these abstracted from the Colombo Plan provide dramatic evidence of both the need and the opportunity for economic development in South and Southeast Asia. The extent to which that opportunity can be translated into achievement depends to a considerable extent on what help more advanced countries can give to the new nations of the region which are struggling to raise the standards of their people. In another article to appear in the December 23 issue I propose to discuss their needs in men, money, and material and the possibilities of meeting them.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

T. S. ELIOT: THE CRITICISM, THE POETRY

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

TO MY notion T. S. Eliot is the greatest of all literary critics. This is said with due respect to Aristotle, Coleridge, Arnold, Goethe, Samuel Johnson, Lessing, the best French critics of the nineteenth century, and Ezra Pound. Eliot's merit lies almost equally in his ability to raise the pertinent problems and in the fineness of his taste. He gave himself a rule of cogency early on and has had the strength of mind to obey it without evasion. This is the first critic of whom we can feel sure that the most important question will always be answered—namely, how successful *as art* is the work of art in hand? Eliot is no philosopher of aesthetics or criticism; he is both more and less than that: his critical practice demonstrates the right principles in action, and we recognize them by their fruits rather than their definition. Like the artist, the good critic acts on more than he consciously knows. And he is able to generalize from experience better than from ratiocination.

Eliot has pointed to his own signal virtue in his essay "The Function of Criticism" (1923): ". . . a critic must have a very highly developed sense of fact." He does not define "fact" either in this essay or elsewhere; he closes with the perhaps lame excuse that his only intention for the present was to find "a scheme into which" the facts might be fitted. But his practice renders it clear enough that he means primarily "aesthetic fact," what works of art actually do, not so much what they mean. A very sharp sense of this order of fact makes possible that unfailing loyalty to the relevant which, I repeat, is fundamental to Eliot. (It may be that he owes something here to Roger Fry's and Clive Bell's art criticism. Their ideas about "significant form" were very much in the English air during Eliot's first years in London; and their attempt to isolate the essential factor in the experience of painting antedates anything similar, I believe, in the literary criticism of our day—even though Mallarmé's "abstract" or "pure" poetry antedates abstract art. It should be remembered that Fry took a special interest in Mallarmé's work, and that the very nature of painting and sculpture presents the problem of determining the essence of the aesthetic more urgently to the art than to the literary critic.) If the powers of criticism increase in proportion to its capacity to distinguish fact, then it is understandable why the high age of positivism should have produced the greatest literary critic. The pragmatic, empirical temper of the period 1900-25—common to its best thinking and affecting epistemologists and aesthetes alike—is precisely what helped develop in Eliot that keen eye for fact by which he has been able to discriminate the essential from the non-essential in literary experience. Scientific method is of no application in the forming of aesthetic judgment, but it can guide us in the elimination of all that is extraneous to it. Obeying its spirit, we can become very faithful in differentiating between what actually happens and what is fancied to happen. Such conscientiousness is part of Eliot's greatness as a critic, and he owes it, albeit unconsciously, to the scientific spirit of the age that formed him.

A new and expanded edition of the "Selected Essays"* is most welcome, although only some three or four essays dating from between 1932 and 1936 have been added. In his preface the author implies that he has left out, among others, those essays that express opinions he no longer adheres to. It would be interesting to know which opinions. I would hazard that they are mainly the harsher ones—of the Romantic poets, for the largest instance. This may explain why A Note on Richard Crashaw is one of the two essays in the volume "For Lancelot Andrews" (1929) to be omitted from the present selection; perhaps Mr. Eliot would no longer be so cavalier toward Shelley's "Skylark" as he is therein. But I am even more intrigued by the omission of the Machiavelli essay, in the same volume, and wonder whether it is because the writer is less confident than in 1929 that he was practically alone in correctly appreciating Machiavelli, or whether he sees more Machiavellianism than before in Machiavelli.

On a rereading of the earlier essays I am struck again by the excellence of Eliot's prose—not so well maintained nowadays—and at the same time by the great amount of personal insecurity that was both concealed and revealed by the tone he established for himself. This was indeed the Anglophile American on his good behavior, handling the English language just a little too carefully and torn between the necessity of pontificating—if only to save words and time—and the requirements of a decorum not quite natively his. The dilemma is bridged by a manner that conveys a formality not too solemn to be urbane, but also a circumspectness that can become priggish if not stuffy. Mr. Eliot is certainly grave. But he is also sure of his opinions. Behind the skirmishing line of qualifications there comes always the main force, in the form of a lapidary flat statement, to decide the issue. The only ones who can object to the young Eliot's dogmatism are saboteurs, vulgarians, or martinets of logic who hate literature and art as much as he loves them. The man of superior sensibility and intelligence, having discovered new and valid truth in such an atmosphere of obfuscation as was English literary opinion between 1900 and 1930, has to lay down the law.

Whether for good or bad, Eliot can number among his achievements the founding of the first true school of English-speaking literary criticism since the eighteenth century, a body of writers who operate on common assumptions

* Harcourt, Brace, $4.50.

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toward common aims and are fairly strict in their definition of both. This school has raised the level of literary study greatly in British and American universities; it has promoted the literary quarterlies, which are a new phenomenon, at least in this country's cultural life, and which until lately have been more beneficial on the whole than otherwise. All this is ultimately Eliot's doing. But by now the losses are beginning to outweigh the gains. For the "new criticism" has become a new academy spawning and sheltering epigones, a haven for mediocrities and a blind alley for those who are not. Everything immediately discernible in Eliot's attitudes, the bad with the good, the accidental with the essential, the idiosyncratic with the viable, the non-literary with the literary, has been converted into a set of rehearsed mannerisms as easy to put on as a suit of clothes—to the infinite detriment of the sensibilities of precisely the best of our young literary people.

It must be said, to the credit of the prophet, that he is not always loyal to his followers. *He* continues to go on living. And from time to time he says things that throw the faithful into confusion. The present crisis of literature in the English language is constituted, on one level, by the fact that no critic as devoted as Eliot is to literature, and to his own experience of it, has appeared to challenge him. It has been left to Eliot alone to do so. Thus he feels obliged, in the continuing absence of others, to throw into question whatever he finds in his own ideas and opinions that threatens to become an agent of petrifaction, whether in himself or others. As frivolous as he can be in political and social questions, he is a kind of moral hero when it comes to literature, and for this more than anything else I know about him I pay him a homage that is more personal than calling him great.

I feel that Eliot has not been as spontaneous in his poetry as in his criticism. About all his verse—or at least the art in it—I can never help smelling something of the tour de force, the contrived, the set piece: it is the man of letters peeping out of the wings, deliberate, prestidigitating, apart from the poetry—yet always hoping that this one time he won't be apart, that it will come off like the real thing and not a piece of the magician's factitious art. The miracle did happen, much more than once; genuine, perhaps great poetry was produced out of a relatively narrow endowment—he has not half the natural, indefatigable gift for poetry of a Yeats or Auden. The different sections of "The Waste Land" do not, in my opinion, hold together in the sense of composing themselves into a beginning, middle, and resolved ending, but the *disiecta membra* are separately precious. And the fervent "Ash Wednesday," the beginning and culmination in one of Eliot's later manner, is fused into a whole by an integrity of feeling I find unexampled elsewhere in his poetry. There are other poems whose unity is effectively secured by a sheer intensity of the will to art or by the momentum of feelings strong enough to carry contrivances and inadequacies of talent along before them. But *mood*, while it could organize Debussy's music, could not suffice for a Beethoven's. And most of Eliot's best poetry is "mood music." It would seem to me that since the Ariel poems he has strained to prove himself as a "professional" poet with a long breath and one able to project whole experiences rather than mere moods, and in so doing has forced himself out of character as a poet. In his plays, which I find bad, and in the very uneven "Four Quartets" his material tends to shred away between his fingers and his verse to become increasingly eked out with filling—clutter, furniture, stock symbols, arch prose. No better than before does he escape from the artiness that has dogged most of the best English-speaking poets of his generation. And his rhythms, liable from the first to a kind of neo-Swinburnian musicality, can of late fall into singsong or mere trickiness, while he seems to have lost all capacity to handle rhyme (see the *cantabile* sections of the "Four Quartets"). This is not all there is to Eliot's later poetry, but it certainly does amount to too much of it.

A recent book, "The Art of T. S. Eliot" by Helen Gardner* is focused on the "Four Quartets" and serves admirably as a guide to their understanding. This main interest does not, however, prevent her from saying many acute things about the rest of Eliot's poetical work. She reads closely and well, and extracts no more from a passage of verse than she can honestly vouch for in her own experience. She has that correct instinct of all true lovers of art which restrains them from digging too far in a work in search of explicit meanings, and delights most in significations that art suspends beyond the reach of discourse. But her book is vitiated by what I consider a radical error of judgment: she regards the "Four Quartets" as Eliot's supreme achievement and can find no fault with these poems in any detail or aspect. I may be wrong—I almost hope I am—but after many rereadings I can see no more in the *chief* substance of the "Four Quartets" than an overamplified, overelaborated, and distended inditing of a state of mind that received fresher and more concise expression in "Ash Wednesday."

For all her awareness Miss Gardner is victim of a fallacy to which Pound, Joyce, Eliot, also, and numerous other practitioners of literary art in our time have succumbed in greater or lesser measure. She seems to hold that the consecutive parts of a literary work can be shown to be adequately joined together if it is demonstrated that they are logically or topically consistent with each other. The justification of the fallacy is usually found in a false analogy with musical form, which progresses by repetition, variation, and extension in accordance with a logic of sounds. But what is indispensable and counts most, in music as well as literature, is inner, emotional, dramatic form: the way in which middle follows beginning, and ending follows middle to form a total experience in time that seizes the reader's or auditor's attention, and with it his emotion, and possesses and controls these until, like the Ancient Mariner, it is done, having finally satisfied the reader within the terms of the context it first set for itself. If form is this, it can do without most of the rest; by comparison all other aspects of it are mechanical and dispensable, mere means toward this as an end. To fail of this end is to fail conclusively—fail to "come off." Yet critics and poets themselves will argue that a poem, say Pound's "Cantos," to name an egregious example, has sufficient unity because it repeats the same themes or topics from time to time, or that it has unity be-

* E. P. Dutton, $3.

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cause its subject has, or because the subject it started out with is still present at the end. Which is like arguing that Dante's fictive presence in every canto insures the unity of form of the "Divine Comedy"; and which in any case burkes the crucial issue of whether the different parts of the work follow each in such an order that the whole which they create has its proper effect. The kind of form I am pointing to cannot be argued into existence; it is only felt; it is what we mean when we say that a work of art "progresses with inevitability." The later poetry of Yeats shows this at its best; Pound's poetry hardly shows it at all, and his example may have corrupted Eliot in a work like "The Waste Land"; Joyce's failure to appreciate the necessity of indwelling, dramatic form may in the end prove to have spoiled "Finnegans Wake."

It must be understood that form in this sense can be recognized only emotionally, not intellectually. That is, it is a question decided by taste. Yet it can be discussed. Miss Gardner has taste, but I am not sure she is aware of the issue. Had she been, I feel, her book would have had more point. The notable lack of "Four Quartets," separately and as a whole, is in my opinion inner form—the right succession of parts; and the scaffolding borrowed from music is—just a scaffolding. It may have been felt by the poet as an aid in the shaping of his poem, as the story of Ulysses helped Joyce shape his novel, but it is not felt by the reader as a determining and necessary element in the poem's final effect. Miss Gardner takes too much for granted that it is.

Attitudes toward Nature

GREAT AMERICAN NATURE WRITING. Selected and with Commentary by Joseph Wood Krutch. William Sloane Associates. $5.

THE "nature" of this anthology is Thoreau's animate nature, the organisms high and low that are our only living companions in an alien cosmos of electrons and nebulae. In fact, with its long introduction and its carefully picked, carefully grouped selections, the anthology is really a documented essay —an attempt to define historically the special attitude toward nature that Tho-

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reau first fully voiced and found expression for in a distinct literary genre. This quasi-pantheistic feeling of fellowship with other living creatures Mr. Krutch regards as the distinctive note of modern nature writing, and its evolution from Bartholomew Anglicanus and his cat to Gilbert White and his tortoise is the subject of his extremely interesting and suggestive introduction. In it Mr. Krutch traces the movements of thought that came together in the eighteenth century to make possible the prevalence of such a view: the increasing interest in scientific natural history; the rise of natural theology with its recourse to the animate world for proofs of the argument from design; the protest of sensibility against the Cartesian view that, except for man, animate creation was a mere mechanism or against the aristocratic humanism of a Buffon who read the animal kingdom as a reflex of the court at Versailles; such writings on one level as Pope's "Essay on Man," with its "Know, Nature's children all divide her care;/The fur that warms a monarch, warm'd a bear," and on another level such a widely read piece of popular science as John Ray's "The Wisdom of God Manifest in the Works of the Creation," a sort of eighteenth-century equivalent of H. G. Wells's "The Science of Life." In all this Mr. Krutch is very much breaking new ground, for the attitude he is defining has, as he shows, a history quite distinct from, if more or less concurrent with, the romantic appreciation of natural scenery, the feeling for mountain landscapes, for the sea, and so on which we are apt to think of as nature emotion par excellence. The distinction is certainly an important and valid one, even if Mr. Krutch points it up somewhat onesidedly by calling Ruskin "an art critic, not a nature writer."

After the epiphany of Thoreau which Mr. Krutch's introduction so excitingly prepares the way for, one must confess to a certain sense of anticlimax in the rest of the selections. It is a pleasure to find pieces like Mark Twain's on the coyote, or Levick's on the Adelie penguin (a piece which becomes American by fiat for the purposes of this anthology), or Beebe's "A Yard of Jungle"; and the various aspects and possibilities of the genre are admirably illustrated. Yet after Thoreau, Muir and Burroughs seem rather minor figures, and excellent as they are, Edwin Way Teale, Lewis Gannett, Laura Davidson, Donald Culross Peattie, and others seem even more so; the "great" of the anthology's title hangs somewhat ambiguously over its contents. Is there such a thing as "great nature writing" as distinguished from "great writing"? Juxtaposed with Thoreau, the work of his followers makes one feel that the limits of the genre were pretty much reached at the prime opening up of its possibilities. Or perhaps the reviewer is merely confessing his own somewhat embarrassing predilection for the romantic attitude toward nature, the kind of dramatic charge that the shameless egoism of this attitude is capable of imparting. But this anthology at least sharpens one's awareness of one's preferences and succeeds admirably in defining and placing a genre that seems destined to be permanent.

One supposes that the mechanistic physiologist referred to on page 25 as Grassenti should be Gassendi, and one notes that the scene of Henry Beston's "Outermost House" is Cape Cod, not "eastern Long Island."

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Nine Greek Cities

GREEK CITY-STATES. By Kathleen Freeman. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

BEWARE the man who generalizes about "the Greeks." If he be a philosopher, there is a fair chance that he is actually spouting Hegel, but whoever he is, and whatever his theme, he deceives. We have yet to see such another race of unclassifiable individualists. Diversity, one is sometimes tempted to say, was the one trait that they had in common. Generalization about them is always hazardous and often rash and ignorant.

This diversity found its central expression and instrument in the city-state. Several hundred of these city-states, each cherishing its own frequently assailed independence, dotted the shores and islands of the ancient Mediterranean. A common language, though spoken with an incomparable wealth of regional variations; a common religion, with its pan-Hellenic games and festivals but also with a rich variety of local cults; a substratum of common custom and tradition—these prevented particularism from becoming arid and shriveled, and they survived the city-state. But the coruscating, many-faceted genius of the Hellenes could not survive; it flourished and became extinct with their characteristic polity.

In "Greek City-States" Miss Freeman presents the history of nine cities as examples of the variety of Hellenic life. Her intention is to reveal the individuality of each community and of the culture that it fostered. Athens and Sparta she omits as well known, but the havoc wrought by their ambition and jealousy is woven across the entire tragic pattern. Her book supplies a corrective to the notion that these two cities were the sum of Hellenic history or its only significant part.

Each chapter, drawing on the evidence afforded by ancient literature, archaeology, coins, and inscriptions, attempts to reconstruct the whole civilization of a city and the course of its history. Six pages suffice to tell all that is worth knowing, and almost all that is known, of little Seriphos, a commune of iron miners on a rocky, almost waterless island in the Aegean. Fifty or more are needed to narrate properly the complex histories of Corinth and Miletus. Byzantium and Massalia, occupying the sites of populous modern cities, are inevitably included for their importance and as indications of the east-to-west limits of Hellenic settlement. Other chapters portray African Cyrene; Thourioi, on the instep of the Italian boot, its precise location still undiscovered; Acragas in Sicily, once the rival in its magnificence of Athens herself; and Abdera, derided for the stupidity of its inhabitants, although it was the native city of Democritus. Miss Freeman writes deftly, making excellent use of anecdote, quotation, and precise detail; her scholarship is expert and unobtrusive, her apprehension of the ancient world realistic and sympathetic with no touch of the sentimental.

Miss Freeman has inclosed her book in an envelope of introduction and conclusion that are really halves of a single essay on the rise and fall of the Greek city-states. What encompassed the destruction of that brilliant, dynamic culture, the most creative probably that men have achieved? She rejects mere disunity as an explanation and finds the

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root of the trouble in blind self-interest: the cities fought within themselves and with each other until the Macedonian and the Roman had little to do but march in and take over. Could they have learned through education and the cultivation of the imagination, as she suggests, that "immediate self-interest means ultimate disaster"? Surely, if intelligence, education, imagination can teach men that truth, the Greeks would have learned it. The humanist formula seems hardly adequate.

GEORGE GENZMER

Art Books of Quality

FLEMISH MASTER DRAWINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. With an Introduction and Notes by A. J. J. Delen. Harper and Brothers. $3.

ANIMAL DRAWINGS OF EIGHT CENTURIES. With an Introduction and Notes by Anna Maris Cetto. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THESE beautiful little volumes are the most recent additions to the Harper's Art Library series of Master Drawings. They are similar in format to the four volumes already published on Dürer, Dutch drawings of the seventeenth century, and French drawings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here, as in the somewhat more ambitious series of Masters of Painting, the publishers offer to the student of modest income art books of very high quality, both in the reproductions and in the accompanying essays. Such ventures are all too infrequent in this country, and although the publishers are fortified by simultaneous publication in other countries, one hopes that their confidence in the American public interested in the arts will prove justified. It has long been one of the anomalies that England, but not the United States, can support good, small, and inexpensive art publications. With us it seems to be a choice between something too heavy to lift or a pulp for the overcoat pocket.

Rubens properly dominates the Flemish volume with a score of drawings ranging from an early farm scene to the black chalk sketch for his last self-portrait—the one which was exhibited last winter with the pictures from Vienna. The extreme difference between Rubens's two major pupils, Van Dyck and Jordaens, is as sharply defined in the drawings of these masters as it is in their paintings: the slender, languid personages, the sinuous lines, and the elegiac tone of Van Dyck, as against the massive but not meaty forms of Jacob Jordaens. There are vignettes by Brouwer—whose pupil Frans Hals was—and an animal drawing apiece by Snyders and Fyt. The second, Fighting Dogs, is repeated in the animal volume.

The range in Miss Cetto's agreeable collection runs from three Romanesque English dogs in heraldic profile to a Scottish greyhound propelled diagonally into space by Toulouse-Lautrec's energetic lines. In between there are other dogs, stags, bears, horses noble and ignoble, herons, leopards, unicorns, dragons, monkeys sad and pensive, an adolescent stork, *the* hare (Dürer) and *the* crab (Dürer again), a piebald boar, parrots, Holbein's bat (which you can hear), a sow, lizards, owls, three flies (in consultation), and four totally self-centered mice. Some of the greatest artists appear here alongside some of the least known. But all of them fire observation with art, and the animal theme draws them together across time and space. The incredible tact of Rembrandt is nowhere better seen than in his shift from a massive counterpoint of lines in black chalk for the elephant to liquid bistre washes for the two birds of paradise. A striding lioness, seen from the rear, is pure Rubens and all extrovert. Rubens made it for a Daniel picture. But it is Rembrandt's lion, not Rubens's, which is the true Old Testament patriarch.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Verse Chronicle

"MUSICAL CHAIRS," by James Broughton (The Centaur Press of San Francisco, $3.50), is as neat an array of feats as you please, a high-class, high-spirited, juggling, acrobatic, song-and-dance act. It is true that occasionally Mr. Broughton drops one of his colored Indian clubs with a dull thump, or falls flat on his face or the seat of his pants, but that only adds to the delight of the turn. This collection is subtitled "A Songbook for Anxious Children," and I guess that ought to

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hold those critics who carp that all modern poetry is wilful, obscure, precious, unintelligible, and not addressed to a universal audience. From Mr. Broughton's Fruits of Experience we gather that "A serious person is a serious business / and serious business is a serious thing / and serious things are very serious / and taken seriously are dead serious / and nothing is as serious as a serious person / and a serious person is seriously dead." So here we have, for a change, some levity, a little therapy for anxious children: at the same time, some insight into the nature of anxiety, *teste David cum Sybilla*, witness Junior's Prayer:

Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord to help me out.
I'm flat on my back and left alone,
so God bless nobody, please keep out.

If I should die and fall asleep
how will I run away from home?
If I should wake before I die
will I still be in the dark alone?

Now I lay me down to sleep.
But keep me awake, Lord, keep me awake!

The book is illustrated with drawings by Lee Mullican, which, I am sorry, I do not quite understand.

A graver music sounds in Richard Wilbur's "Ceremony and Other Poems" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). This is not to imply that Mr. Wilbur is a dejected character. Far from it; his poems are full of affirmation, delight in the shapes and colors of the visible world; water and light are favorite symbols. Mr. Wilbur's turn of mind is philosophic as well as sensual; his epithet is neither the fashionably verbal nor the obsolescent conventional; he has considerable variety of manner and a meet sense of proportion in the way he fits manner to theme. The danger he may face in getting his third book ready is that of finding things a little too easy, of having forms come facile, however quick, to suit the demands of the not quite deep, really, levels of emotion. There is of course no harm in writing poetry of this order; so you know you are doing it. I had in mind to quote part of Part of a Letter: there are places where it might be broken, but too much would be lost, so here are its four lovely quatrains:

Easy as covewater rustles it pebbles and shells
In the slosh, spread, seethe, and the backsliding
Wallop and tuck of the wave, and just that cheerful
Tables and earth were riding

Back and forth in the minting shades of the trees.
There were whiffs of anise, a clear clinking
Of coins and glasses, a still crepitant sound
Of the earth in the garden drinking

The late rain. Rousing again, the wind
Was swashing the shadows in relay races
Of sun-spangles over the hands and clothes
And the drinkers' dazzled faces,

So that when somebody spoke, and asked the question
Comment s'appelle cet arbre-là?
A girl had gold on her tongue, and gave this answer:
Ca, c'est l'acacia.

Three retellings of classical myths have found their way into this corner, one American verse, "The Dream of Alcestis," by Theodore Morrison (Viking, $3), the other two French prose, translated by John Russell, "Two Legends: Oedipus, Theseus," by André Gide (Knopf, $3). I do not think this is the best Gide ever was, but it is interesting to compare his sometimes sober, sometimes rich, especially in Theseus, prose, his erudition, lightly worn, with Mr. Morrison's aspiring innocence, and a verse style which begins in rather pedestrian and academic blank-verse fashion, and warms, or loosens, up, later, into something quite moving and effective.

Readers who have not yet solved their problems of Christmas giving might be tipped off to two possibilities: "The Complete Poems of Carl Sandburg" (Harcourt, Brace, $6) and "A Little Treasury of Love Poems," edited by John Holmes (Scribner, $2.50). The former includes Chicago Poems, Cornhuskers, Smoke and Steel, Slabs of the Sunburnt West, Good Morning, America, The People, Yes, and a new section of seventy-four poems not hitherto collected. It is full of wise saws and modern instances, more humorous and folksy in places than poetic, but what's the matter with that? Mr. Holmes's "Little Treasury" ranges from Chaucer to Dylan Thomas, including, somewhat to my surprise, Dover Beach, by Matthew Arnold, and omitting, considerably to my regret, John Donne on the right true end of love and to his mistris going to bed. Mr. Holmes's introduction has a kind of awkward disarmingness, and of the two poems of his own which he includes, The Flower is very lovely. The decorations, by Johannes Troyer, seem to commit love to the aspects of Victorian fancy, which I do not think is the case.

The Muses' Library series continues its good work with two new volumes, "Selected Poems of William Barnes," edited by Geoffrey Grigson, and the "Plays and Poems" of Thomas Lovell Beddoes, edited by H. W. Donner (Harvard: Barnes, $2.10; Beddoes, $2.50). These books, I take it, are prepared primarily for students and come as close as scholarship can to flaunting the careful academic side of their preparation, but I see no reason why the general reader, who knows as little as I do of Barnes or Beddoes, might not derive a deal of pleasure and information directly from the text. If neither of the books in the above paragraph suits your Mr. and Mrs. Jack Sprat for Christmas, this would be a mighty nice combination, the wild, whirling, and macabre Beddoes for the one, the serene, composed, and rooted Barnes for the other.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE PROTOZOA AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS. By Winifred Duncan. Humanizing Science Series. The Ronald Press Company. $3. What are commonly called the simpler animals are often much more versatile than the higher ones and they lead very complicated lives, always doing unexpected things and turning, from time to time, into something else. If a dog started out as a canary and became a turtle in his old age that would not seem odd to a protozoan, however disturbing it might be to us and the dog. But since most people don't care very much what happens to an invisible creature in a stagnant pool, one does not hear much about them at dinner parties, and the Book of the Month Club probably did not even seriously consider the present book by an unusually well-qualified ama-

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teur observer who reports on the goings-on in the ponds and ditches near her home in Cuernavaca—though the place makes little difference, since the simple animals are also the most cosmopolitan and one would find much the same things in New England or Timbuctoo. Much of what she sees may be found in dry outline in textbooks and scientific journals, but she writes with wit as well as with imagination, so that even those not totally ignorant of her subject will find it amusing. Those who are totally ignorant will be moved, if anything can move them, to interest. The microscope was, in Victorian times, a popular toy. That it can be revived against the rivalry of television seems unlikely though not necessarily regrettable. J. W. K.

THE YELLOW BOOK: A SELECTION. Compiled by Norman Denny. The Viking Press. $3.75. Of the stories in this anthology—which is gotten up of course in the Yellow Book format—Henry James's "The Death of the Lion" and perhaps George Gissing's "The Foolish Virgin" stick in the mind; of the essays, Max Beerbohm's "Defense of Cosmetics"—at least as a period piece; of the poetry, John Davidson's curious Fleet Street Eclogue "St. George's Day." The rest of the printed matter is a mélange of Henry Harland, Baron Corvo, Richard Le Gallienne, Arthur Symons, Ernest Dowson, and less well-known writers, all sounding a good deal alike. The twenty-four drawings include some of the best Beardsley, excellently reproduced, good Steer and Sickert, Sargent's pencil profile of James (with the beard), as well as a few period horrors like Laurence Housman's "The Reflected Faun."

PREBLE'S BOYS. By Fletcher Pratt. Sloane. $5. The story of the birth of American sea-power and of the men who fought the British, the French, and the pirates of Tripoli in the early years of the last century. Fletcher Pratt is a brisk narrator, and under his hands a fine collection of hard-bitten sea captains spring to action.

THE BEWITCHED PARSONAGE: THE STORY OF THE BRONTES. By William Stanley Braithwaite. Coward-McCann. $3.50. An unpretentious but not altogether perfunctory retelling of the Brontë saga, with biographical speculation kept to a minimum, and the emphasis on the reflection of the sisters' lives in their novels. Mr. Braithwaite's aim is readable narrative rather than critical profundity, but his treatment does succeed in giving a convincing characterization of each of the sisters.

WATER, LAND, AND PEOPLE. By Bernard Frank and Anthony Netboy. Knopf. $4. Another hortatory and useful book on the depletion of our natural resources. The authors describe the factors that are turning the American earth from a sponge into a drainboard, and tell what is being done, and what might be done, to meet the problem of drought, floods, and a steadily lowered water supply.

FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

THE newly released E. C. A.-sponsored films should be welcomed both as powerful publicity for E. C. A. and as examples of good film-making. These shorts show the Marshall Plan in action in a way that newspaper and magazine reports have never done. They are straightforward, dramatic, and uncluttered by high-flown talk about the objectives of the program. Visual documentation gets the point across.

A. F. Films, 1600 Broadway, New York, has just been awarded exclusive distribution rights to the films, which, incidentally, are rented free of charge except for a small mailing fee.

About seventeen films are available now, and they range from a general view of the working of the Marshall Plan abroad to specific case histories of the individual projects. A good beginning for a program built around these films would be a color cartoon called "Story of a Rescue." It runs ten minutes and explains the economic facts of life behind the Marshall Plan.

Telling the story in a more leisurely fashion, "Europe Looks Ahead" documents the activity sparked by E. C. A. all over Europe. Soil enrichment in Turkey, increased livestock feed in Denmark, a railroad bridge over the Po, the rebuilt Corinth Canal, a revived iron mine in Norway—these are only a few of the accomplishments described in this twenty-minute film. The result of E. C. A. activity is an increased level of production where it operates, plus more food for more people. Produced by the March of Time for E. C. A., this film is a remarkably restrained effort. Without trickery or pontificating it covers a lot of ground effectively.

"I Went Back" uses a different style of presentation to accomplish the same end. It is a more personal narrative in which Leo Genn tells the story of his visit to Italy, Austria, Greece, and Denmark, where he observed the effects of two years of Marshall Plan aid. It runs twenty minutes.

These are both good, solid films which might be combined into a film evening or used as the springboard for the more specialized E. C. A. productions. The latter group shows E. C. A.'s work most vividly. Take one called "Village Without Water." Made by a group of Italians, this documentary pictures everyday life in one of the tiny Italian villages where water must be brought in by donkey every day, one barrel to a village. It is an austere film which in its own minor way ranks with the best Italian feature films we have seen during the last few years. Most of its ten minutes is devoted to the build-up. The last few show an E. C. A. pipe line and the poignant results of the first piped water into the town.

"Handicraft Town" has a similar locale, another tiny Italian town but this time in the north. It is a town devoted to cutlery making, a town of artisans dependent upon coal and steel. Both of these commodities disappear during the war. But Marshall Plan aid has now brought them back, and the town is prospering. With shots of the daily life in the village, scenes of men at work, a spotlight on the community hospital being built with workers' contributions, this picture shows the Marshall Plan working for the little man. It runs ten minutes.

"The Niger" (twenty minutes) switches locale to French West Africa, where a vast plan to redirect the Niger River and irrigate and reclaim the land has been under way since before the war. With equipment purchased through the Marshall Plan the French have been able to complete this project, which will change the living standards of millions of natives living in the region. The film shows the opening up of undeveloped territory as well as rehabilitation of old areas of production. Magnificent jungle

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shots and panoramic views of the work in progress make this one the most satisfying, photographically speaking, in the series.

The great message of the E. C. A.-sponsored films seems to be that a revision of the European economic structure is in the offing. At the end of "Europe Looks Ahead" this point is made very clearly by use of a map showing how the free countries could merge their resources for a United Europe.

Some of the films present other than economic aspects of the Marshall Plan. "Adventure in Sardinia" (twenty minutes) shows the result of a three-year campaign to stamp out malaria. "Corinth Canal" (ten minutes) tells the story of the rebuilding of that waterway. "Henry's Story" (twenty minutes) traces the reconstruction of the French barge fleet on the Rhine. "Project for Tomorrow" (twenty minutes) tells of E. C. A.-sponsored development of 4-H clubs in Austria.

A. F. Films, 1600 Broadway, New York, will supply a detailed listing of the films to anyone interested. They deserve a wide audience, particularly at this time, when aid to Europe is being threatened. They are living proof that a tremendous job is being done with E. C. A. funds and that economic recovery has produced social and cultural changes abroad.

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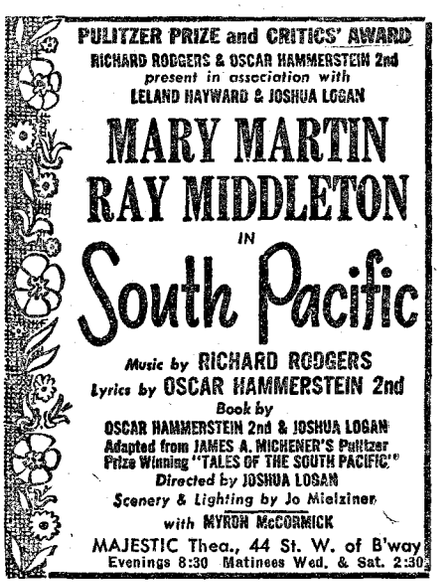
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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OUTSTANDING among the RCA Victor opera recordings that I have heard on 78 rpm pressings is the one of *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo." This scene—with its development of poignant ostinato figures behind the melodies of the solo cello and the solo voice—belongs among the group of especially remarkable achievements of the Verdi method and artistic powers, such as the Sleepwalking Scene from "Macbeth" and *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* from "Otello." Italo Tajo, whose voice is not one of the smoothest, sings it well except for some excessive huh-huh-huhing; but one would want the record just for the superbly powerful and finished orchestral performance conducted by Morel and the beautiful playing of the cello solo by Leonard Rose. Also, the reproduction is notable not only for the beauty of the sound but for the balance of voice and orchestra—the effect of orchestra heard clearly all around the voice; and that is true of the other recordings of the group.

These include a set of three in which Leonard Warren sings the Drinking Song from "Otello," *Di Provenza* from "La Traviata," *Morir! tremenda cosa* and *Urna fatale* from "La Forza del Destino," and, with Astrid Varnay, the beautiful duet *Dinne, perchè in quest' eremo* from "Simon Boccanegra." In the "Otello" and occasionally in the "Forza del Destino" Warren does his bawling with clouding vibrato; but for the rest he sings quietly with beautiful tone and phrasing. Varnay's singing is shrill and tremolo-ridden much of the time, but has beautiful moments; the orchestra's playing under Renato Cellini is very fine. The texts which should be supplied are not.

The duets *Libiamo, libiamo* and *Parigi, o cara* from "La Traviata" are sung by Albanese and Peerce with orchestra and chorus under Victor Trucco. Peerce's singing is excellent; Albanese sings with excessive vibrato in the first piece and with somewhat explosive phrasing in the second. And *Stride la vampa* and *Condotta ell' era in ceppi* from "Il Trovatore" are sung by Cloe Elmo with exciting dramatic intensity but with her voice a little metallic and harsh, and with Morel conducting another superb orchestral accompaniment.

A set of three records offers Varlaam's Song, Boris's Monologue, and his Farewell and Death from "Boris Godunov," sung by Boris Christoff with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Dobrowen. Christoff's voice is rougher-textured and less beautiful in timbre than Chaliapin's; but in themselves his performances are good, and the orchestral parts are better played and reproduced than in the Chaliapin recordings. Several sides of my copy waver in pitch, however; and again there are no texts.

Another three-record set offers, among other things, the lovely *L'amerò, sarò costante* from Mozart's "Il Re Pastore" without the usual cut and beautifully sung by Erna Berger, but in German and with piano instead of orchestra. The violin obbligato is well played by Oscar Shumsky. The other things are Schubert's fine "Suleika" I, his "Suleika" II, and his lovely "Der Hirt auf dem Felsen." These too are beautifully sung, with the clarinet obbligato in "Der Hirt" well played by David Oppenheim. No texts again.

On three sides of a two-record set is Isolde's Narrative, which for me is one of the dull stretches in "Tristan," sung by Flagstad and Elisabeth Höngen with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Dobrowen. Flagstad's voice miraculously exhibits its old luster except in its highest notes, which are, however, clear, steady, and powerful; Höngen's is tremulously shrill. The fourth side has an astonishingly inadequate Flagstad performance of Wagner's wonderful song "Im Treibhaus"—inadequate because of the use of piano instead of orchestra, the excessively fast tempo, and the singing that is a mere succession of lustrous sounds. And no texts again.

Ein Schwert verhiess mir der Vater and the more engaging Spring Song from "Die Walküre" are sung by Svanholm with his quavering *Heldentenor* and with an orchestra under Weissmann.

And finally a superb performance of the Overture to "I Vespri Siciliani" by De Sabata and the Rome Augusteo Orchestra; and a performance of the Prelude to "Lohengrin" by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony in which the texture is not as clear as in Toscanini's with the N. B. C. Symphony.

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On 33 1/3 rpm Victor offers Metropolitan Opera stars—Warren, Berger, Peerce—and other soloists with the Shaw Chorale and an orchestra conducted by Renato Cellini in a complete "Rigoletto" such as one has heard at the Metropolitan—i.e., with Warren sometimes singing with restraint and beautifully and sometimes bawling with excessive vibrato, with Peerce singing well at all times, with both men interpolating high notes, with Berger's voice thin and cold but used with musical taste and style, and with the orchestral part lacking the sharpness of outline and the force it would have if De Sabata, for one, were conducting. The recording comes with a booklet of historical notes and narrative by Alice Berezowsky in addition to a libretto with Italian and English texts. The Berezowsky narrative and the record labels divide the opera into four acts; the libretto, which divides it into three, places the beginning of Act 1 Scene 2 incorrectly *after* Rigoletto's encounter with Sparafucile; and its summary of the action places this encounter incorrectly in Act 2.

BOOKS OF 1950: A SELECTED LIST

THE WAR, THE PEACE, EUROPE, ASIA, MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA

Great Mistakes of the War. By Hanson W. Baldwin. Harper. $1.50.

The Grand Alliance. By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

The Hinge of Fate. By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

Our Jungle Road to Tokyo. By Robert L. Eichelberger in Collaboration with Milton Mackaye. Viking. $4.50.

The Road to Pearl Harbor. By Herbert Feis. Princeton. $5.

The Theory and Practice of Hell. The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them. By Eugen Kogon. Translated by Heinz Norden. Farrar, Straus. $4.

I Was There. By Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy. Whittlesey House. $5.

Escape to Adventure. By Fitzroy Maclean. Little, Brown. $4.

The Wooden Horse. By Eric Williams. Harper. $2.75.

The Coming Defeat of Communism. By James Burnham. John Day. $3.50.

Truman, Stalin, and Peace. By Albert Z. Carr. Doubleday. $2.75.

A Plan for Peace. By Grenville Clark. Harper. $1.

War or Peace. By John Foster Dulles. Macmillan. $2.50, cloth; $1, paper.

Defence of the West. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Morrow. $4.

Fundamentals of World Organization. By Werner Levi. Minnesota. $3.

Challenge and Decision. By Edgar Ansel Mowrer. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

World in Crisis. By J. Salwyn Schapiro. Whittlesey House. $4.50.

From Napoleon to Stalin. Comments on European History. By A. J. P. Taylor. British Book Center. $3.

Faith, Purpose and Power. By James P. Warburg. Farrar, Straus. $2.

Europe and the United States. By Vera Micheles Dean. Knopf. $3.50.

The Nine Lives of Europe. By Leo Lania. Funk and Wagnalls. $3.50.

The Atomic Era—Can it Bring Peace and Abundance? Edited by Freda Kirchwey. Medill McBride. $3.

Crisis in Britain. Plans and Achievements of the Labour Government. By Robert A. Brady. California. $5.

The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism. By Keith Hutchison. Scribner's. $3.50.

The Growth of English Society. By E. Lipson. Holt. $5.

A History of the English People. By R. J. Mitchell and M. D. R. Leys. Longmans, Green. $6.

British Politics Since 1900. By D. C. Somervell. Oxford. $3.75.

Problems of Social Policy. By Richard M. Titmuss. British Information Services. $5.75.

Illustrated English Social History. Volume I. Chaucer's England and the Early Tudors. Volume II. The Age of Shakespeare and the Stuart Period. By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans, Green. $3.75 each.

The Cautious Revolution: Britain Today and Tomorrow. By Ernest Watkins. Farrar, Straus. $5.

Star of Empire: A Study of Britain as a World Power, 1485-1945. By William B. Willcox. Knopf. $5.

Decision in Germany. By Lucius D. Clay. Doubleday. $4.50.

All Honorable Men. By James Stewart Martin. Little, Brown. $3.50.

This Is Germany. Edited by Arthur Settel. Sloane. $4.

Soviet Image of the United States. By Frederick C. Barghoorn. Harcourt, Brace. $4.

East of the Iron Curtain. By Vernon Bartlett. Medill McBride. $2.75.

Justice in Russia. By Harold J. Berman. Harvard. $4.75.

The Curtain Isn't Iron. By Joseph C. Harsch. Doubleday. $2.

Soviet Politics—The Dilemma of Power. By Barrington Moore, Jr. Harvard. $6.

My Three Years in Moscow. By Walter Bedell Smith. Lippincott. $3.75.

This Is Russia Uncensored. By Edmund Stevens. Didier. $2.75.

Peking Diary. By Derk Bodde. Schuman. $3.75.

Government and Politics of China. By Tuan-sheng Ch'Ien. Harvard. $7.50.

Aspects of Japan's Labor Problems. By Miriam S. Farley. John Day. $3.50.

The Occupation of Japan: Second Phase, 1948-50. By Robert A. Fearey. Macmillan. $3.

Human Bondage in Southeast Asia. By Bruno Lasker. North Carolina. $6.

Pivot of Asia. By Owen Lattimore. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $3.50.

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India and the United States. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. Macmillan. $2.75.

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South Asia in the World Today. Edited by Phillips Talbot. Chicago. $4.

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The Stakes of Democracy in Southeast Asia. By H. J. van Mook. Norton. $3.75.

New Star in the Near East. By Kenneth W. Bilby. Doubleday. $3.50.

The Republic of Israel. By Joseph Dunner. Whittlesey House. $4.75.

Israel without Tears. By Ruth Gruber. Wyn. $2.50.

History of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. By Philip K. Hitti. Macmillan. $9.

The Struggle for Palestine. By J. C. Hurewitz. Norton. $6.

I Saw the Battle of Jerusalem. By Harry Levin. Schocken Books. $3.

The Army of Israel. By Moshe Pearlman. Philosophical Library. $5.

Report on Israel. By Irwin Shaw and Robert Capa. Simon and Schuster. $3, cloth; $1.50, paper.

Watch for the Morning. By Thomas Sugrue. Harper. $3.50.

Last Chance in Africa. By Negley Farson. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

Black and White. By Martin Flavin. Harper. $4.

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The Truman Merry-Go-Round. By Robert S. Allen and William V. Shannon. Vanguard. $3.50.

Red Masquerade: Undercover for the F. B. I. By Angela Calomiris. Lippincott. $3.

A Generation on Trial. By Alistair Cooke. Knopf. $3.50.

America's New Frontier: The Mountain West. By Morris E. Garnsey. Knopf. $3.50.

Security, Loyalty, and Science. By Walter Gelhorn. Cornell. $3.

National Security and Individual Freedom. By Harold D. Lasswell. McGraw-Hill. $3.50.

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Ordeal by Slander. By Owen Lattimore. Little, Brown. $2.75.
The Federal Bureau of Investigation. By Max Lowenthal. Sloane. $4.50.
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The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt. By Denis W. Brogan. Yale. $6.
This Reckless Breed of Men. By Robert Glass Cleland. Knopf. $4.
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The Emergence of Lincoln. By Allan Nevins. 2 vols. Scribner's. $12.50.
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Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread. By Frank Tannenbaum. Knopf. $3.50.

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A Reconstruction of Economics. By Kenneth E. Boulding. Wiley. $4.50.
Meat and Man: A Study of Monopoly, Unionism, and Food Policy. By Lewis Corey. Viking. $4.50.
Atomic Energy. Edited by J. L. Crammer and R. E. Peierls. Allen Lane. 35 cents.
The New Society. The Anatomy of Industrial Order. By Peter F. Drucker. Harper. $5.
The Economics of Freedom. The Progress and Future of Aid to Europe. By Howard S. Ellis. Harper. $5.
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CONTRIBUTORS

CLEMENT GREENBERG was formerly *The Nation's* art critic.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR., is at work on a biography of Francis Parkman.

GEORGE GENZMER is working on a critical biography of Thomas Jefferson for the American Men of Letters Series.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., on leave as chairman of the art department of Williams College, has just left for Germany to become director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

L. A. "Daily News" Objects

Dear Sirs: Now and then your West Coast correspondent, Carey McWilliams, has found it pleasing or useful to refer to the Los Angeles *Daily News* in terms that were less than complimentary. The *Daily News* is a fairly sturdy and self-reliant metropolitan newspaper and hitherto has not bothered to take exception to his references. In your November 4 issue, however, is a statement which calls for a correction.

Mr. McWilliams said: "Some weeks ago the *Daily News* finally came out for Mrs. Douglas but in a curiously left-handed way. It sagely told its readers that it did not consider Nixon a fascist and that it was by no means thoroughly convinced that Mrs. Douglas was a Communist."

Either Mr. McWilliams is much more stupid than we have ever believed him to be or he has deliberately twisted the meaning of the article to which he refers. I think I should know because, as political editor, I wrote it. What the *Daily News* did say about Mrs. Douglas and communism follows: "We do not believe for a minute that Helen Gahagan Douglas has ever been a Communist or sympathetic with the general thesis of communism. Moreover, we believe that anyone who thinks she is or ever has been a Communist or a Communist sympathizer is being naive or being deluded by appearances that sometimes belied reality." I don't believe that anyone with even a fuzzy knowledge of semantics would take that to mean that we are "by no means thoroughly convinced that Mrs. Douglas was a Communist."

Farther along Mr. McWilliams says: "The calculated coolness of the indorsement was widely and properly interpreted by conservative Democrats who had supported Boddy [Manchester Boddy, publisher of the *Daily News*] in the primary as a tip to remain neutral or else vote for Nixon."

Mr. McWilliams offers no proof that it was *widely* interpreted in the way he says. Conservative Democrats, as a matter of fact, were, for the most part, chagrined and unhappy, and judging by mail and telephone calls I received it was anything but widely interpreted as he says.

As for it being *properly* so interpreted, that is an inference based on lack of knowledge and particularly a lack of knowledge of what was in my mind when I wrote it. It was not cool, and it was definitely calculated to give aid and comfort to Mrs. Douglas. In fact Mrs. Douglas herself thought so because she telephoned me at the time and said so.

There are other inaccuracies and misinterpretations in the McWilliams article, such as, "The *Daily News* is Democratic but with strong Republican leanings. It supported Governor Warren in the pre-primary period and has never withdrawn its indorsement." Actually we made no indorsements in the primary, and we gave to each candidate for governor the amount of space to which we thought he was entitled on a news basis. Moreover, we have never, to my knowledge, criticized candidate James Roosevelt more severely than Mr. McWilliams did in your November 4 article.

LESLIE E. CLAYPOOL

Los Angeles, Cal., November 22

McWilliams Answers

Dear Sirs: While the *Daily News* has taken a liberal position on many issues, it has been consistently opportunistic on the decisive issues. This is not personal opinion; it is a community verdict. Los Angeles liberals overwhelmingly repudiated the candidacy of Manchester Boddy, publisher of the *Daily News*, for the United States Senate in June, 1950. In this contest Mrs. Douglas carried every liberal precinct in Los Angeles County, while Mr. Boddy did fairly well in the Republican suburbs.

My reference to the manner in which the *Daily News* "indorsed" Mrs. Douglas was, of course, intended as ironic elaboration of an obvious fact. But in the context of events the reference fairly sums up what happened. After the June primary Democratic voters were naturally eager to learn whether "the sturdy and self-reliant" *Daily News* would support Mrs. Douglas. They expected a statement from Mr. Boddy, the defeated candidate, but his silence was painful. After the lapse of a conspicuous interval, Mr. Claypool, as "Frank Observer," made the statement to which I referred. Under the circumstances it could only be interpreted as a strictly *pro forma* "indorsement." As soon as it appeared, former Boddy supporters began to come out, one after the other, for Nixon.

As to the paper's being "Democratic

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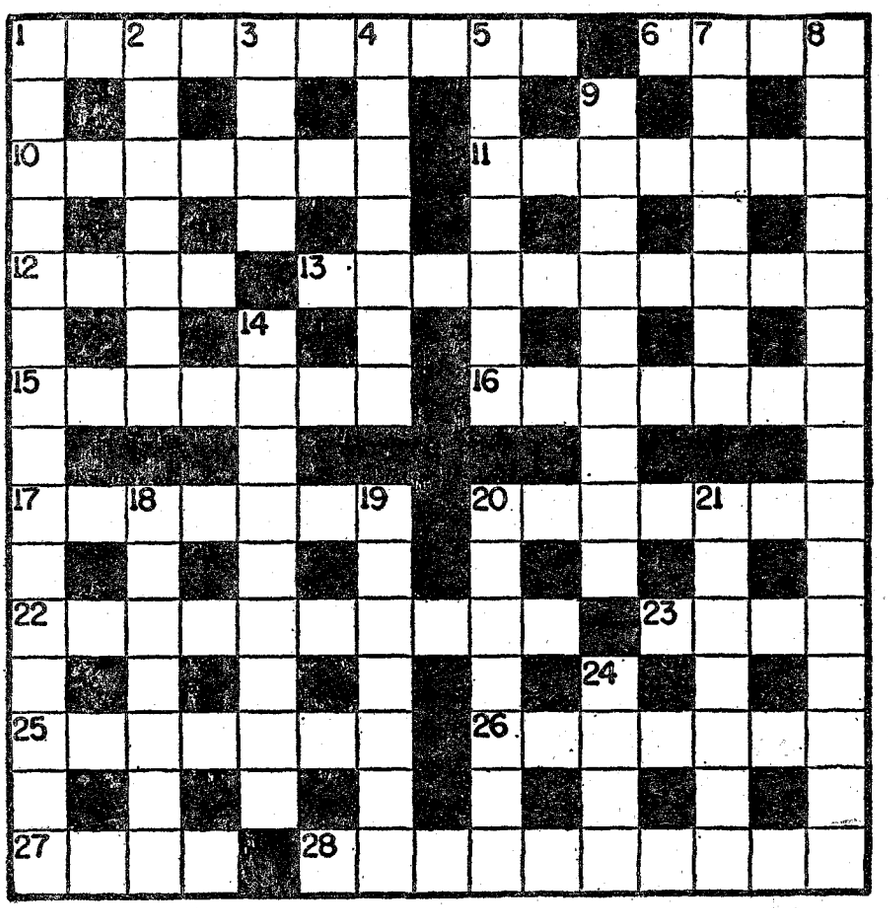
Crossword Puzzle No. 391

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Litter in the street. (5, 5)
6 A Carib is found without means of transportation. (4)
10 Proverbially starts from the same place as the batter. (7)
11 Designer. (7)
12 Wagner's was less literate than Browning's. (4)
13 Reduction makes the union timid. (10)
15 Rodents run after 14's head. (7)
16 Rolande, the thief of the islands. (7)
17 Top grain. (Rimsky-Korsakof's was Spanish.) (7)
20 Why wrestlers need canvas? (7)
22 A waving motion, but not the good-bye kind. (10)
23 The kind of a guy who would peep at something small. (4)
25 Express joy with Carroll's portmanteau. (7)
26 Castor oil should be well shaken and taken without any alternative. (7)
27 Water color. (4)
28 There's a strain on the joint of the sewer. (10)

DOWN

1 Trust good advice, by the sound of it, in the U. N. (8, 7)
2 Shouldn't be taken for granted when involved in a policeman's check. (7)
3 On tip-toe. (4)
4 Telegram sent by the Secretary of State at the time of the "open door policy"? (7)
5 Not out yet? (7)
7 Baby Ruth? (7)
8 Cats' cradles? (6, 9)
9 See 24.
14 The bird of 15 dined after he took sick. (9)
18 Fill out the slip in the stable. (7)
19 One of the things the intemperate go to. (7)
20 Wreckage associated with Black Samuel. (7)
21 An essay the object—four clues! (7)
24 and 9. Drivers are warned against them. (Parker likes to lean there.) (4, 9)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 390

ACROSS:—1 ALLEMANDE LEFT; 10 NERVE; 11 OMISSIONS; 13 ROPER; 14 ROMAN HOLIDAY; 19 BASE STEALING; 22 LEEKS; 24 and 12 CAESAREAN OPERATION; 25 STIPPLING; 26 TAINT; 27 SYCAMORE TREES.

DOWN:—2 LARDER; 3 ELEVATORS; 4 ABOMINATE; 5 DEIGN; 6 LOSER; 7 FOOTPADS; 8 ONION; 9 OSPREYS; 15 HALF-EAGLE; 16 LANCASTER; 17 OBELISK; 18 ASPERITY; 20 FELINE; 21 KNITS; 23 SEPIA; 24 CHICO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

with strong Republican leanings," in its issue of April 7, 1950, an editorial signed with the initials "L. E. C.," and entitled "*Daily News* Basic Policy Democratic" defended the indorsement which the *Daily News* had just given Congressman Carl Hinshaw (R.), whose opponent was the widely respected liberal Democrat, Albert S. Brown, and also took notice of the fact that the *Daily News* "occasionally" supported Republican candidates. The fact is that the *Daily News* has indorsed some of the most reactionary Republican Congressional candidates, including, among others, Norris Poulson, Richard Nixon, and Carl Hinshaw. To be more specific, the Democratic Club in the district in which Mr. Boddy resides, the Twentieth Congressional District, adopted a resolution on April 10 expressing strong disapproval of this action from "a 'basically' Democratic newspaper whose publisher and editor-in-chief is asking for Democratic support in his ambition to become United States Senator."

That the *Daily News* made no primary indorsement in the gubernatorial race may be technically correct. All it did was run a lengthy editorial praising Governor Warren!

If the *Daily News* would only decide whether it was "basically" Democratic or "basically" Republican, its political editor would be relieved of the necessity of venting his occupational frustrations on wholly unrelated targets.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Los Angeles, November 25

Reply to Schlesinger

Dear Sirs: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in *The Nation* of September 9, objected to my remarks, in the issue of August 5, about the Congress for Cultural Freedom held last July at Berlin. He accused me of making such "unfounded and inaccurate observations" that they gave the "impression of deliberate misrepresentation." Since then the official order of business drawn up for the congress by its organizer, Melvin J. Lasky, has been published. In it Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and any other interested person can find objective proof of whose statements were false.

Whether, for instance, Arthur Koestler criticized the British Labor government only "on a single point," as Mr. Schlesinger asserted, or made an unqualified and intentionally insulting attack not only on the British Labor Party but on the Social Democratic movement in every country—an attack so unjustified that it aroused vigorous disagree-

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ment in the majority of the audience and drew angry protests from André Philip, David Rousset, Haakon Lie, Altiero Spinelli, Adolf Grimme, and many others. True, Koestler did not mention the Schuman plan, but he lumped together "German National Socialism, Russian Soviet socialism, English socialism, Palestinian trade-union capitalism, and De Gaulle's proposed system," and declared, "The East European iron curtain is matched by the diplomatic fog-bank over the English Channel."

If my article gave the impression that the congress was attended only by "renegade Communists," Mr. Schlesinger had a right to protest. Ex-Communists were certainly in the minority. But they were the chief speechmakers and were chosen by the congress leaders for all influential posts; so that a strong sense of frustration soon spread through the congress and its meaning was falsified. The rebellion of men like those I have mentioned and the despairing resignation of Ignazio Silone show that their names, and Arthur Schlesinger's too, were only the frame for a scene which was filled in by Communist converts.

Not wishing to supply any grist to the Russian propaganda mill in view of the current situation in Korea, I touched but briefly on an aspect of the congress which was succinctly described by the well-known English author H. R. Trevor-Roper, in the London *Economist*. Mr. Trevor-Roper, who had attended the congress, wrote. "This congress was an inverted Wroclaw [referring to the Communist peace congress held at Wroclaw (Breslaw) in 1948]—the Wroclaw of the ex-Communists." And of one of the speeches he said, "It was an echo of Hitler's Nürnberg." It was in fact more than an echo. For James Burnham said: "If any group of men, any class, or any nation becomes strongly pacifist, its will and capacities are weakened, regardless of the reason for the pacifism. Every social group is surrounded by other groups which try to destroy or absorb it. Pacifism decreases the self-confidence of the threatened group and its readiness to use the means which can alone enable it to resist." From whom did he derive his ideology if not from Hitler himself? No wonder Burnham could say in conclusion: "To speak the truth, I must add that I am not under all circumstances against atom bombs. I am against the bombs which are being collected in Siberia or the Caucasus and are destined to destroy Paris, London, Rome, Brussels, Stockholm, New York, Chicago, Berlin, and Western civilization in general. But I was yesterday and am certainly today for the bombs being manufactured at Los Alamos, Hanford, and Oak Ridge and guarded in the mountains and deserts of the United States."

All this can be verified by consulting the official order of business of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, published by *Der Monat*, Saargemündestrasse 25, Berlin-Dahlem, Information Service Division, APO 742. CAROLUS

Frankfurt, November 30

Correction

Dear Sirs: Two mistakes appeared in my article Wonder Drugs: Plus and Minus (*The Nation*, December 2) as a result of typographical errors. The price of ACTH is $50 for a medically equivalent amount of the drug, not $50 a gram as the article read. Through the omission of a dash, rheumatoid arthritis was described as "a malignant, disabling form of arthritis not to be confused with the much less serious osteoarthritis which afflicts an estimated two million aging Americans." It is rheumatoid arthritis that afflicts an estimated two million Americans; osteoarthritis afflicts many more. LEONARD ENGEL

New York, December 2

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